

# AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

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# The Agricultural History Society

## *Annual Book Award for 1961*

Scholars working in the field of agricultural history are invited to enter the competition for the Annual Book Award of the Agricultural History Society. The Award consists of free publication of the winning manuscript by the University of Illinois Press under a standard royalty contract and recognition of the author's work through the journal of the Society.

A judging committee, established by the Society, will choose the Award volume from manuscripts submitted to Fred W. Kohlmeyer, Editor, *Agricultural History*, Room 3, Commerce Annex, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Deadline for entries in the 1961 competition is *November 1, 1961*. Judging will be completed by April 1, 1962. The judges will consider book length manuscripts dealing in a scholarly fashion with any phase of agricultural history. Following the past policy of editors of *Agricultural History*, the judges will interpret "agricultural history" in a broad sense, but the decision of the committee of judges on the relevance of any manuscript will be final. Biographies, monographs, edited works, and works of synthesis and interpretation are eligible. Literary merit will be a primary consideration in making the Award.

Those interested in submitting manuscripts should write to F. W. Kohlmeyer for a copy of the application form which must accompany all manuscripts. The following rules govern the preparation of manuscripts for entry:

1. Manuscripts must be in English and typewritten on 8½ by 11 white bond paper, double-spaced, with ample margins. Authors must submit a ribbon copy. The committee will be glad to accept, in addition, a clear carbon copy to speed up distribution among judges.
2. Manuscripts must be boxed.
3. Manuscripts will be returned *Manuscript Express Collect*.
4. The committee of judges prefers to have footnotes numbered consecutively throughout each chapter, beginning with "1". Footnotes should be double-spaced and assembled on separate sheets at end of text.
5. Style should conform to the MLA style sheet or the University of Chicago *Manual of Style*.
6. Maps and illustrative materials should accompany the manuscript. On a separate sheet the author should indicate any other materials which he will furnish—at his own expense—if his manuscript is chosen for publication.
7. While every care will be taken in the handling of material submitted, the Committee cannot accept responsibility in case of loss or damage.

## AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

A Publication of the Agricultural  
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Fred W. Kohlmeier, Editor

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## AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

### The Quarterly Journal of the Agricultural History Society

*Agricultural History* is designed as a medium for the publication of research and documents pertaining to the history of agriculture in all its phases and as a clearing-house for information of interest and value to workers in the field. Materials on the history of agriculture in all countries are included, and also materials on institutions, organizations, and sciences which have been factors in agricultural development. The Society is not responsible for the statements or opinions of contributors. Editorial communications and books for review should be sent to Fred W. Kohlmeyer, Editor, Room 4, Commerce Annex, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

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## Expanded Frontiers in Agricultural History

GILBERT C. FITE

By the time one is invited to address this luncheon meeting of the Agricultural History Society, it is probably not necessary to prove scholarship by presenting a research paper with appropriate documentation. Whether this is a sound assumption in my case, some of you will no doubt argue. Nonetheless, I am going to forego talking about any aspect of my current research, and share with you some thoughts on the state of agricultural history.

Surely, from time to time, most of us interested in agricultural history have considered seriously the over-all state of our discipline. Occasionally we need to peer out of our individual wormholes and look at some of the broader problems and opportunities found in this exciting area of scholarship. My remarks will be confined primarily to American agricultural history which I realize is only one aspect of a much broader field. If part of what I say sounds querulous, it is not so intended. I would, however, like to stimulate some thinking on the place and role of agricultural history in the over-all position of American historiography. If you disagree with my remarks, so much the better. We should all welcome academic controversy in this day of deadening complacency and intellectual conformity.

One of the most notable developments in American history during the last one hundred years has been the rapid decline in the economic, political, and social position of American farmers. It was not many years ago that the most idealized man in American life was the hard-working, independent son of the land. From presidents to paupers, the self-reliant yeoman was viewed as the prototype of everything good and worthwhile.

However, the farmer no longer represents the ideal in America. He has been replaced by the image of a prosperous business or professional man who works in a white collar, who lives in the suburbs, and who spends his early evenings holding a cocktail glass rather than a milk pail.

The decline of the importance of agriculture and the weakening of the agrarian tradition is perhaps best reflected in our national political life. It is no longer necessary to boast of a rural background or of agricultural forebears in order to run successfully for public office. Although one well-known and wealthy senator, Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma, still pictures the log cabin of his birth and distributes jugs of good old country sorghum during campaign forays, neither multimillionaires Averell Harriman nor Nelson Rockefeller found it necessary to have their pictures taken pitching hay or milking cows during the 1958 gubernatorial campaign in New York. Certainly, John F. Kennedy's millions did not handicap him as a presidential candidate in 1960.

The agrarian tradition is wearing thin under the impact of a predominantly urban culture. Today, children can see cows, horses, sheep, and hogs, not in their own barnyards, but standing idly and sleepily beside bears, elephants, monkeys, and giraffes in almost any large city zoo. So great has been the change that Christ's parable of the sower is in danger of losing its meaning to modern young urbanites who neither sow nor reap, but who spend a lifetime on asphalt or concrete. James Whitcomb Riley's "When the Frost Is on the Pumpkin and the Fodder's in the Shock" is meaningless to a generation which hardly recognizes pumpkins out of a can and which thinks that maybe fodder is a new breakfast food. Indeed, the rural imprints have been rapidly blurred and in some cases completely obliterated by factories, turbines, skyscrapers, neon lights, and apartment houses. Rural America has not only contracted spiritually and intellectually, but suburbs, shopping centers, super highways,

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and landing fields have attacked it physically as well.

Regardless of how it is viewed, agriculture has lost importance and prestige in the United States during the last century. It provides a constantly smaller proportion of the national income, farming employs an increasingly smaller percentage of the nation's workers, it furnishes a lesser percentage of the country's exports, and in every way ranks lower and lower as a business and as a way of life. If agriculture, the subject of our academic interest and research, is declining, where does agricultural history stand? How big and important a stream is agricultural history in that great river of human experience which we lump together and call the history of mankind? These questions cannot be answered in a brief space, but it seems to me that as historians of agriculture we need to look at ourselves as researchers and writers, as well as to survey our product. In other words, some self-examination is in order.

It is unnecessary to do intensive research to know that agricultural history does not rank high in American historiography today. Sometimes I feel that a great many people do not consider the history of agriculture worthy of serious study, and that those who pursue it are looked upon as the hicks and hayseeds of the historical profession. This daughter of Clio about whom we speak is considered by many an uncomely, rustic, country girl with few admirers to say nothing of ardent lovers.

The first point I want to make is that, in my judgment, those of us interested in this field have been too timid in pushing the claims of agricultural history. Few in number and weak in financial resources, we have been ignored, slighted, and pushed aside until we feel like second class citizens. Although we must fight against overwhelming odds, it is time we made greater efforts to present the values and needs of agricultural history. So far as the United States is concerned, we have been basically an agricultural people, and until the last 60 or 70 years the economy has rested primarily upon farming. For nearly three centuries more Americans made their living from the land than in any other way, while industry has predominated for

only a little more than a half century. Yet today practically every major aspect of American development has been more extensively treated historically than agriculture. How can such a statement be justified in light of the fine writing which has been done in this field?

In the first place, we have reasonably satisfactory, adult, one volume histories of most phases of American history, *except* agriculture. There are histories of labor, technology, diplomacy, business, immigration, literature, and a multitude of other subjects, all of which are important but none of which rank above agriculture in significance so far as the full sweep and meaning of American history is concerned. It is really incredible that a good, comprehensive survey of American agriculture is not on the market in 1961.

What about our textbooks in American history, especially American economic history? A number of writers state flatly that agriculture was the most important aspect of American economic life in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and most of the nineteenth century. But, once having paid lip service to the position of agriculture, these authors proceed to contradict themselves by devoting equal or more space to other aspects of the economy. Is it any wonder that students have no understanding of the role and position of agriculture in American national life. Examine the entire list of textbooks. Beginning with the sixth grade American history, and going through the upper grades, high school and college texts you will find that none of them explain the role of agriculture in American history satisfactorily. Part of this is undoubtedly due to the unavailability of enough good, general works in agricultural history. Writers of texts do not have time to do research in every area and must rely on the writings of others.

Let us examine briefly some other types of literature. The most popular and widely read historical publication today is probably the *American Heritage*. The title itself implies that an effort is being made to present some aspects of the main developments which have gone into our national heritage. But what is the situation? During the five years

between December, 1954, and October, 1959, *American Heritage* published 30 issues and some 342 articles. By the most liberal and generous interpretation of agricultural history, only eight of the 342 articles dealt with this subject.

But, you say, this is a publication designed for the general reader which requires emphasis upon subjects of unusual interest. It would be too much, this argument holds, to expect *American Heritage* to publish anything so unexciting and prosaic as agricultural history. After all, this is the task of the scholarly journals. But what is their record?

The journal *Agricultural History* is, of course, devoted entirely to publishing in this field, but it might be logically assumed that the national, regional, and especially the state historical journals would publish a substantial amount of agricultural history. However, there is scarcely any aspect of our life and development which has received less attention in these periodicals.

Between January, 1951, and January, 1961, the *American Historical Review* published 121 articles. Of this number only four dealt with any phase of agricultural history, and only one was concerned with American agricultural history. The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has published more in the field of agricultural history than most other professional journals. In the decade following June, 1950, 19 of the 190 articles discussed some aspect of the history of agriculture. In the *American Historical Review* we have nearly drawn a blank; the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has shown up somewhat better from the viewpoint of our special interest. At least one president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Fred A. Shannon, devoted his presidential remarks to a phase of agricultural history.

The record of the publications of the state historical societies is no better, if as good. A survey of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* over a recent ten-year period shows that some 254 articles, documents and speeches appeared. But only 14 of these dealt with agriculture. The *North Carolina Historical Review* published 65 articles in the decade from 1950 to 1959. While twelve of these were concerned with agricultural history,

there were three years in that period when no article was published dealing with any phase of rural life. What about Iowa, that queen of farm states? During this same decade of the 1950's, the *Iowa Journal of History* published a total of 85 articles, only seven of which dealt with some aspect of agricultural history. In five of the ten years under consideration, nothing was published on agriculture. The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* publishes titles and authors of articles from national, regional and state historical journals. In the September, 1960, issue there were 282 articles listed, but omitting *Agricultural History*, only 11 of these, or about 4 percent, dealt with any phase of agricultural history.

What about books in this field? Study the list of books being constantly sent out by publishers and you will be impressed by the lack of volumes in agricultural history. A recent list by the Association of American University Presses contains 51 new or reprinted books in American history. Only one deals with any phase of the history of agriculture. The well-known series in American history, except for the Rinehart Economic History series, seem to be avoiding volumes on agriculture like the plague. The University of Chicago History of Civilization series has a volume, either published or under contract, on such subjects as immigration, medicine, Protestantism, and numerous other topics, but nothing on agriculture—at least not yet. There seems to be a real scarcity of monographic literature in this field. But it is not necessary to belabor this point. The evidence is overwhelming that agricultural history ranks relatively low as a subject for historical research and writing.

Why is this true? It might be argued that nothing much of significance remains to be done in agricultural history. However, we all know that this is not so, and a little later I plan to outline some of the major needs in this field of historical scholarship. Is the lack of monographs and articles in agricultural history due to problems and difficulties in publication? My experience on the editorial boards of three scholarly journals, and personal acquaintance with a sub-

stantial number of editors, leads me to conclude that there is nothing to the idea that good articles on the history of American agriculture go unpublished. Most editors, I believe, would welcome more articles in this field.

It is probable that book publication in agricultural history is more difficult than in many other fields of history. Most books in the area of agricultural history sell only moderately well. Publishers often lift a questioning eyebrow when you talk to them about a book on some phase of agricultural development. For example, a representative of one New York publisher told me that if I would write a general survey of American agricultural history, his firm would be glad to publish it, providing I would write another book for the company first! Yet, I doubt if very many good manuscripts in agricultural history are lying in top drawers gathering dust. The publishing outlets today are legion, and I dare say that mighty few well-written and -researched manuscripts on important subjects cannot find a publisher.

No, the relatively small quantity of agricultural history being produced today is not due to lack of good subjects or the inability to find a publisher. The main reason for the paucity of writing in the field is the small number of people working in this branch of historical scholarship, and the even smaller number being trained in the graduate colleges. This brings me back to my original point; ours is not a popular field of history. Those of us who help to place graduate students know that agricultural history is not a popular specialty for an American historian at job-hunting time. When we assist our students in seeking a position, we would rather they had a specialty in most any other field of history. A man can be a specialist in political, military, social, intellectual, urban, or any other phase of American history and be in a better position to get a job. Even in the field of economic history, specialties in business, money and banking, and urbanization are much better than agriculture. Indeed, the history of American agriculture ranks poorly at placement time.

Some may argue that I am oversensitive on the relatively meager quantity of agricultural

history; that after all it is quality which counts. Can we honestly claim that the high quality of agricultural history makes up for the relatively small quantity? Surely, it would be foolish to judge our general educational and cultural contribution on the basis of the number of books and articles published. Those of us interested in agricultural history need not apologize to anyone when it comes to quality. Books like Fred A. Shannon's, *The Farmers Last Frontier*; Reynold Wik's, *Steam Power on the American Farm*; James H. Shideler's, *Farm Crisis*, and more recently Paul Gates', *The Farmers Age* are only a few of the volumes which meet the most rigid and exacting standards of historical literature. Scholars in agricultural history have also written hundreds of significant articles. "The Agricultural Problem and Nineteenth Century Industrialism," by Theodore Saloutos, and "The World Metropolis and the History of American Agriculture" by John T. Schlebecker are only two outstanding examples.\* These are thoughtful, meaningful works which have had or will have a marked influence on general writings in American history.

But there is a great deal of agricultural history which is piddling, unimaginative, and almost unbelievably dull. Of course, this is true of all kinds and descriptions of history, but it seems to me that agricultural history has had more than its share. Many readers almost seem to expect agricultural history to be ponderous, stale and dry as dust, and, I regret to add, their fears have too often been fulfilled. I have heard it said repeatedly that agricultural history simply does not lend itself to very readable literature, that the subjects treated are inherently dull. There is no real evidence to support this idea. It is closer to an old wives' tale which we should destroy once and for all. The history of American agriculture is replete with incidents and developments not only of interest, but of genuine excitement. Why are not subjects like the Farm Holiday Association, the expansion of wheat growing during the Civil War, or the fight over land between farmers

\*These articles appeared in *Agricultural History* 22:156-174 (July, 1948) and *The Journal of Economic History* 20:187-208 (June, 1960) respectively.

and corporations excellent subjects for articles in the *American Heritage*? These could be made as interesting, or more so, than many of the articles published. In other words, I reject the idea that agricultural history must necessarily be dry and uninteresting. We have fallen into a self-constructed trap which plagues our whole field of historical investigation. Therefore, the first thing I would like to recommend for the new frontiers in agricultural history is that we give renewed emphasis to the literary quality of our writings. When more of us do this we will command greater attention and respect among not only our professional colleagues, but the general public as well.

If what I have outlined represents a fairly accurate picture of the present state of agricultural history, what of the future? Someone may ask following this gloomy report, does agricultural history really have any future? My answer to this question is definitely affirmative. I believe that the greatest days for the study of agricultural history lie ahead. As society in the United States becomes more highly industrialized and urbanized, and as farming declines even further in economic, social and political importance, my contention is that agricultural history will experience a flourishing revival. This prediction is based on the assumption that agricultural history has suffered as a field of study because in the past it has dealt with familiar and commonplace affairs. That is, until within the last generation or so, most Americans had some firsthand experience with farming. Since in the past agriculture changed rather slowly, there was a feeling that it was useless and unnecessary to study formally something on which most people already thought they were informed.

For instance, for a native of the Great Plains to study the control of wind erosion which he had seen practiced all his life seemed ridiculous and unnecessary. A history of cattle feeding was not likely to attract a scholar who at some time in his life had mixed the grain and filled the feed bunks. But as fewer and fewer people know anything about agriculture from firsthand experience, this field of history will be able to take advantage of natural curiosity, interest asso-

ciated with the unknown, and judgment which comes through perspective and the passing of time. One of the great future problems connected with writing agricultural history is that more and more of the work in this field will be done by persons whose total living experiences are urban. This may have important consequences. Already Richard Hofstadter, Oscar Handlin, and others have viewed phases of Populism through urban bifocals, and some of their conclusions have aroused the ire of historians whose roots are in the Populist soil. In any event, the relative decline in agriculture in the United States will, I believe, be a favorable rather than an unfavorable factor in the development and growth of agricultural history.

As we think of the future, what are some of the needs and objectives which deserve our individual and joint attention? First of all, there is the great need for bibliographical work. The Edwards bibliography is now more than thirty years old. It was, and still is, excellent, but it should be expanded and brought up to date. Also, manuscript materials dealing with agriculture should be included. During the last third of a century, great strides have been made in accumulating and cataloguing manuscript sources, and it would be a great aid to research and writing in agricultural history if at least the most important of these could be included in a general bibliography. Individual members, as well as the Agricultural History Society, should explore every possibility of financial backing for the editing and publishing of a new bibliography devoted to agricultural history.

As we look ahead over the next quarter of a century, we must all be more concerned about the collection and preservation of manuscript materials which deal with the history of American agriculture. We dare not leave the collection of these records to the archivists alone, however hard they may be working. As scholars in this field, we often possess special intelligence in regard to manuscript sources. We can collect materials for our own institutional archives, we can alert historical societies about manuscript



collections, and we can recommend where certain papers and documents should be placed. I consider the contributions which we can make here to be a vital part of our scholarly responsibility. Too often many of us have failed.

For example, about ten years ago I made some rather indifferent inquiries about the papers and files of Carl Williams of Oklahoma City who was the cotton member of the Federal Farm Board. My lethargic efforts turned up nothing except that Williams had left the state. Recently, I began an intense search for the Williams Papers. After one short trip and several inquiries, I finally found a person who had seen the papers burned in 1953. If I had only explored this more fully when I first became interested, these important manuscripts would today be resting in the University of Oklahoma Archives. I am confident that, as historians interested in agriculture, we can do more in this area than we have accomplished in the past.

With improved bibliographical tools and the collection of more basic sources, the next step should be to utilize the broader range of materials more effectively. There are today abundant resources for studying agriculture history which scarcely have been touched. Courthouse records on land holding and transfers, tenancy, tax problems and many other important matters have gone untouched in many parts of the United States. Another rich source is the official departmental correspondence found in State Archives and State Historical Societies. For instance, the files of late nineteenth century Kansas governors located in the State Historical Society at Topeka abound with materials on grasshoppers, drouth, land policies, transportation difficulties, and many other problems. One of the best sources of incoming correspondence written by farmers in the nineteenth century can be located in the files of various state agencies. It is unfortunate that incoming correspondence to the United States Department of Agriculture is extremely sparse prior to 1900. The state publications, many of which contain good selections on local agriculture along with statistical materials, are also rich sources.

Moreover, while an increasing number of

scholars have been researching in the National Archives, these vast records, especially for the recent period, have not yet felt the tender touch of researchers. The raw material for scores of books on important subjects lie undisturbed and unused in the quiet recesses of several archival divisions. The Library of the United States Department of Agriculture and the new presidential libraries are among other establishments of great importance for studying all, or some phases of, the history of American agriculture. Time does not permit further elaboration of the resources available, but scarcely any branch of historical study is more liberally blessed with important documentary collections.

What are some of the major areas of agricultural history which need to be studied? Different scholars would undoubtedly have different answers to this question. However, it seems to me that our most pressing need is for a good, solid, single-volume history of agriculture in the United States. This is not only desirable, but it is imperative if agricultural history achieves and maintains any semblance of status and respectability. In fact, nothing would do more to promote interest and study in agricultural history than for three or four such volumes to appear in print within the next two years. It is my earnest hope that several of you in this audience are not only contemplating a general history, but that it is near publication.

State and regional histories are also badly needed. State histories of agriculture have been written for less than one-third of the states and some of these cover only a portion of the state's agricultural development. For example, Merrill E. Jarchow's, *The Earth Brought Forth*, brings the story of Minnesota farming only down to 1885. Three-fourths of a century of Minnesota agriculture is still awaiting a historian. Regional histories are extremely limited, both in number and in the territory covered. Worthwhile studies of agriculture on the Great Plains, the Corn Belt, the Pacific Northwest, western irrigated agriculture and numerous other agricultural regions would be genuine contributions. Scholarly histories of several individual crops are lacking. Cotton and tobacco have been subjects for serious studies, but wheat, corn,

and the lesser small grains, to say nothing of fruit and vegetables, are crops still requiring general historical treatment.

Another great gap in agricultural history is the field of farmer voting. Some beginnings have been made in this area, but most of the work still remains to be done. We do not really know how farmers have voted because votes in the strictly farm precincts and townships have not been separated from those containing small towns. The voting practices and habits of actual farmers and those of village and small town citizens, although both basically rural, have often been quite different. Another large and important topic which deserves further study is the role of agriculture in capital formation, especially in the nineteenth century. Strange as it may seem, mechanization of agricultural production is among those topics which have not been properly studied. In short, there are really no limits to the opportunities and needs in the field of agricultural history.

Finally, the new frontiers in agricultural history should provide a multivolume history

of agriculture in America. I would suggest ten volumes. These books should not be light surveys, but studies in depth. The Gates and Shannon volumes in the American Economic History series demonstrate what might be done but on a much broader scale. An attempt should be made to interest a leading commercial publisher or a good University Press to obtain an editor, contract with writers, and bring out these volumes over not more than a ten year period. A committee of the Agricultural History Society might be a logical body to begin the necessary spade work on such a project. It is time that those of us interested in agricultural history broke the confines of our petty thinking and apologetic attitudes, and demonstrate to the academic world that the content, significance, and value of studies in agriculture are second to none in the historical profession. This is my call to action. The new frontiers stretch before us. Let it not be said of us, "the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few."

### THE RURAL IDYLL

There is perhaps no class in the community that suffer so little in the present troubled times, as the farmers. Outside of the immediate theatre of the war, life moves on in its usual channels upon the farm. In all the cities the calamity is deeply felt. It has seriously interrupted business, and multitudes are thrown out of employment. There all the excitement, as well as "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war," is felt. But upon the farm, one would hardly know the convulsion through which the country is passing, but for the newspapers.

At all times the farmer's life flows more smoothly and peacefully, than that of other men. There is in it more of solid comfort. The scenes in which he mingles, and the objects of his daily contemplation, are calculated to make him cheerful and happy. Nature in all its freshness and beauty is ever spread out before him. It is not his genteel boast that he never sees the sunrise. The morning's prime is not to him a vulgar hour. He is up with the lark, and hears that choral song at early dawn, with which the birds begin their day. He beholds the first streak of light, and the heavens passing through all the changes of color—sober grey, purple, sapphire, crimson, to the full effulgence of the risen sun. There is joy in beholding these scenes, with every sense fresh from invigorating sleep.

*From American Agriculturist, Sept., 1861*



## The Metamorphosis of American Agrarian Idealism In the 1920's and 1930's

CLIFFORD B. ANDERSON

The antecedents of the American creed of agrarianism can be found as far back as Graeco-Roman times, in the writings of Hesiod, Aristotle, Xenophon, Cicero, Cato, and others. A belief in the primacy of agriculture also pervaded much of medieval thought, and—in spite of the interlude of mercantilist “heresy”—experienced a notable revival at the hands of the French Physiocrats, Turgot, Quesnay, and Du Pont de Nemours.<sup>1</sup> Transplanted across the ocean to America, to a land which was still ninety percent rural, this faith in the fundamental importance of agriculture took deep root. Moulded to fit the intellectual milieu of the American colonists, and tinged with virulent religious overtones, agrarianism became the dominant creed of eighteenth and early nineteenth century America.

In order to discover how much of this agrarian creed survived into the America of the 1920's and 1930's, and to what extent the industrialization and urbanization of America had altered or amended this faith, it will be necessary to define agrarianism by breaking it down into three doctrines.<sup>2</sup> The first doctrine hinges on the conviction that agriculture is fundamentally basic and superior to other occupations because it supplies the food and clothing of the nation and is the original source of all wealth and raw materials—without which other industries can not flourish. According to this viewpoint, the farmer is the “primary producer” and the “backbone of the nation.”<sup>3</sup>

The second doctrine of agrarianism assumes that farming is a way of life, not a mercenary occupation, and that for this reason the farmer is morally superior to the laborer, the merchant, the entrepreneur, or the townsman. Because the independent, self-sufficient, non-pecuniary husbandman lives close to nature and God, he is the repository of virtue, pa-

triotism, independence, and all other noble attributes.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Jefferson, for example, declared that “those who labor on the earth are the chosen people of God,” and that the farmer is God’s “peculiar deposit[ory] for substantial and genuine virtue.”<sup>5</sup> As John Taylor, another great apostle of agrarianism, put it: “the farmer is morally superior to other workers because he is obeying the divine injunction to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty.”<sup>6</sup>

Closely related to the first two tenets is the third assumption—that America should remain a nation of small yeoman proprietors in order to avoid national decline. The urbanization of America, it was feared, would result in the growth of vested interests, factionalism, exploitation, moral decline, and radicalism. “Generally speaking,” warned Jefferson, “the proportion which the aggregate of the other classes of citizens bears in any state to that of its husbandman, is the proportion of its unsound to its healthy parts, and is a good enough barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption.”<sup>7</sup>

To be sure, some Americans—devoted to a commercial or artisan point of view—challenged the idea that the farmer was superior to the merchant, the industrialist, or the laborer; but the numerical superiority of farmers in pre-Civil War America left agrarianism as the almost unanimously accepted creed. The rapidly accelerating urbanization and industrialization of America after 1860,

<sup>1</sup> For the views of these men, see Frank Neff, *Economic Doctrines*, 2nd ed., (N.Y., 1950), pp. 24-72.

<sup>2</sup> Paul H. Johnston, “Old Ideals Versus New Ideas in Farm Life,” *Farmers in a Changing World*, (U. S. Dept. of Ag., 1940), pp. 116-18, divides agrarianism into approximately the same principles, but I am not indebted to him for my dichotomy.

<sup>3</sup> Grant McConnell, *The Decline of Agrarian Democracy*, (Berkeley, 1953), chs. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform from Byran to F. D. R.*, (N.Y., 1955), chs. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, 3rd ed., (N.Y., 1801), pp. 243-45.

<sup>6</sup> John Taylor, *Arator*, (Petersburg, Va., 6th ed., 1818), pp. 188-91.

<sup>7</sup> Jefferson, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-45.

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however, began to open an ever widening chasm between the new urban environment and the theories of the agrarians. The Granger and Populist attacks on the railroads, grain exchanges, and business monopolies, as well as their social-democratic demands for a graduated income tax, a lower tariff, and political reforms, were based essentially on a backward-looking appeal to agrarian principles.<sup>8</sup> But such attacks and such appeals could not stop the march of industry and urbanization, which was further stimulated by the demands of World War I.

Nevertheless, agrarian sentiments continued to be widely expressed in the 1920's and, to a lesser extent, in the 1930's. Farm journals, the records of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, and even business magazines, abound with references to the first doctrine of agrarianism—that agriculture is the source of all wealth. "The earth is the source of all wealth," declared the editor of *Country Gentleman* (1920).<sup>9</sup> "We farmers have the greatest calling on earth. . . ." "We produce the wealth of the world," announced G. F. Hunnicutt, editor of the *Southern Cultivator* (1921 and 1922).<sup>10</sup> This point of view was also shared by Clarence Poe, editorial writer for the *Progressive Farmer*,<sup>11</sup> by the editor of the *Farm Journal*,<sup>12</sup> and by such farm spokesmen as Charles P. Plumb of the American Farm Bureau Federation,<sup>13</sup> Louis J. Tabor of the National Grange,<sup>14</sup> Senator Ellison Smith of South Carolina,<sup>15</sup> Senator Robert Owen of Oklahoma,<sup>16</sup> Representative Gilbert Haugen of Iowa,<sup>17</sup> and Congressman C. G. Binderup of Nebraska.<sup>18</sup>

Even business and financial journals—but not the American Federation of Labor<sup>19</sup>—continued to recognize the fundamental pre-eminence of agriculture. The *Bankers Magazine* (1934) admitted that "without the crops which are grown on our farms the state of those not engaged in farming would be sad indeed."<sup>20</sup> The *Manufacturers Record* (1921) asserted, "The greatest treasure any people can have, their supreme asset, is a strong and sturdy farming element, a self-contained food supply."<sup>21</sup> Other business spokesmen—such as the New York financier, Bernard Baruch,<sup>22</sup> the New York engineer, Francis J. Clair,<sup>23</sup> and the presidential candidate, Warren G.

Harding<sup>24</sup>—agreed that the farm was the source of all wealth.

Thus, the first doctrine of agrarianism—the belief in the primacy of agriculture—was still alive and virulent in the 1920's and 1930's. However, this doctrine was simultaneously undergoing a change. The traditional faith that agriculture is basic because it feeds and clothes the nation was being transformed into the purely economic argument that agriculture is basic because the nation's prosperity depends upon the purchasing power of the farmer. In the 1920's, arguments for the primacy of agriculture were still as likely as not to be weighted with moral connotations, and many persons used both moral and economic arguments indiscriminately. By the 1930's economic reasoning

<sup>8</sup> Russell B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics*, (East Lansing, 1951), chs. 1-3. Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939*, (Madison, 1951), chs. 2, 6-9.

<sup>9</sup> Editorial, *Country Gentleman*, 85:47 (Nov. 20, 1920), p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Editorials, *Southern Cultivator*, 79:23 (Dec. 1, 1921), p. 2; 80:5 (Mar. 1, 1922), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Clarence Poe, "How Can We Develop a Richer Rural Civilization?" *Progressive Farmer*, 35:36 (Sept. 4, 1920), p. 23. Editorial, *Ibid.*, 36:12 (Mar. 19, 1921), p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Editorial, *Farm Journal*, 51:6 (Je., 1935), p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Charles P. Plumb, "What a Farmer Really Looks Like," *Country Gentleman*, 86:38 (Dec. 17, 1921), p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Sen. Joint Res. 65, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (69 Cong., 2 sess., Wash.), p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> A Bill to Amend the A.A.A., Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (74 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), pp. 365-66.

<sup>16</sup> Sen. 1642 and Sen. 2012, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (68 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), pp. 427, 431.

<sup>17</sup> Gilbert N. Haugen, "My Bill," *Farm Journal*, 53:6 (Je., 1929), p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> Sen. 212, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (74 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> Generally speaking, labor spokesmen argued that the factory worker, as well as the farmer, was a producer of wealth. See Editorials, *American Federationist*, 27:4 (Ap., 1920), p. 336; 31:10 (Oct., 1924), pp. 819-20. Editorials, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 45:38 (Sept. 17, 1920), p. 2167; 46:16 (Ap. 22, 1921), p. 4; 52:35 (Sept. 2, 1927), p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> Editorial, *Bankers Magazine*, 128:3 (Mar., 1934), p. 250. Businessmen were not insincere. Their faith in the independence, individualism, and conservatism of the farmer blended well with their *laissez faire* economic doctrines and their fear of radical labor movements. See John P. Gleason, "The Attitude of the Business Community toward Agriculture during the McNary-Haugen Period," *Agricultural History*, 32:2 (Ap., 1958), p. 135.

<sup>21</sup> Editorial, *Manufacturers Record*, 79:1 (Jan. 6, 1921), p. 112.

<sup>22</sup> Hofstadter, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>23</sup> House Res. 3835, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (73 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), p. 223.

<sup>24</sup> Editorial, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 45:38 (Sept. 17, 1920), p. 2171.

predominated, and references to moral arguments were difficult to find.

Indeed, the depression and the New Deal hastened a renaissance in American thinking: moral agrarianism was secularized into an economic creed. Agrarianism was still present in the 1930's, to be sure, but more and more it was being expressed in economic terms. Although economic arguments were present before 1920, they were more frequently used in the 1920's and 1930's than ever before. Certainly it was an easy transition from the moral faith that agriculture was basic because it fed and clothed the nation, to the economic creed that agriculture was basic because the farmer's purchasing power was essential to national prosperity.

Editors of farm journals in the 1920's and 1930's constantly argued that national prosperity depended upon the farmers' purchasing power.<sup>25</sup> Occasionally someone would object—as did Martin Dodge (1929), former Director of the Office of Public Roads—that “the farmer has not been prosperous, yet grass has not grown in the streets of our cities and towns.”<sup>26</sup> But when the depression struck in 1929 and 1930, this point of view was largely discredited; the farmers were able to say, “I told you so!” “It is likewise generally agreed,” declared the *Progressive Farmer* (1936), “that it was the loss of the farmers' purchasing power . . . that began the great financial disaster of 1930-33.”<sup>27</sup> According to the *Southern Planter* (1932), “the return of prosperity is largely dependent on the recovery of agriculture”<sup>28</sup>—a point of view endorsed by the editors of *Successful Farming*,<sup>29</sup> the *Southern Agriculturalist*,<sup>30</sup> and the *Farm Journal*.<sup>31</sup>

Generally speaking, spokesmen for business and labor also supported the notion that agricultural prosperity was a *sine qua non* for national prosperity. Time and time again editors or writers in business and financial journals conceded that national prosperity depended upon the prosperity of the farmer.<sup>32</sup> President Coolidge and President Roosevelt were of this opinion,<sup>33</sup> as were Henry J. Harriman, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce,<sup>34</sup> Frederick E. Murphy, publisher of the *Minneapolis Tribune*,<sup>35</sup> Alexander Legge, President of International Harvester Company,<sup>36</sup> Arthur

Medwedeff of the Baltimore Butter Exchange,<sup>37</sup> and Hugh MacRae, who identified himself as a “capitalist” in industry and construction.<sup>38</sup>

Labor spokesmen, too, found it much easier to accept the economic argument that agricultural prosperity was essential to national prosperity, than the moral argument which said that agriculture was basic because it was the source of all wealth. In 1922 a representative of the American Federation of Labor publicly recognized the dependence of labor on the farmers' buying power.<sup>39</sup> In 1927 and 1931 William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, endorsed the idea that businessmen and laborers were dependent upon the prosperity of agriculture,<sup>40</sup> as did

<sup>25</sup> Editorial, *Country Gentleman*, 86:20 (May 14, 1921), p. 14. Editorial, *Ohio Farmer*, 148:5 (July 30, 1921), p. 4. Editorials, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 46:44 (Nov. 4, 1921), p. 1341; 56:31 (Aug. 1, 1931), p. 5. Editorials, *Southern Cultivator*, 88:16 (Dec. 15, 1930), p. 4; 90:1 (May 1, 1932), p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Federal Farm Board, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (71 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), pp. 766-67.

<sup>27</sup> “Business and the Farmer,” *Progressive Farmer*, 51:2 (Feb., 1936), p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> Editorials, *Southern Planter*, 93:7 (Ap. 1, 1932), p. 6; 99:4 (Ap., 1938), p. 24.

<sup>29</sup> Editorials, *Successful Farming*, (Dec., 1931), p. 10; (Jy., 1935), p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> Editorials, *Southern Agriculturalist*, 62:5 (May, 1932), p. 7; 63:6 (Jc., 1933), p. 3; 65:4 (Ap., 1935), p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Editorials, *Farm Journal*, 55:2 (Feb., 1931), p. 10; 60:10 (Oct., 1936), p. 16; 63:7 (Jy., 1939), p. 62.

<sup>32</sup> Editorials, *Manufacturers Record*, 86:4 (Jy. 24, 1924), p. 75; 90:13 (Sept. 30, 1926), p. 54; 102:7 (Jy., 1933), p. 12. Editorials, *Financial Chronicle*, 117:3030 (Jy. 21, 1923), p. 256; 120:3130 (Jc. 20, 1925), p. 3103. Editorials, *Economic Conditions*, (Aug., 1925), p. 122; (Aug., 1932), pp. 123-24. Editorial, *Cotton*, 87:11 (Sept. 1923), p. 892. Editorial, *Bankers Magazine*, 120:3 (March, 1930), pp. 324-25.

<sup>33</sup> Editorial, *Country Gentleman*, 89:12 (Mar. 22, 1924), p. 14. Editorial, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 57:24 (Nov. 26, 1932), p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Clarence Poe, “Interpreting the World's News,” *Progressive Farmer*, 50:2 (Feb., 1935), p. 50.

<sup>35</sup> Forum: “What Is Wrong with Southern Agriculture . . . ?” *Southern Cultivator*, 91:2 (Feb. 1, 1933), p. 5; See an editorial of the *Minneapolis Tribune* cited by Clarence Poe, “Are Business Men Waking Up at Last?” *Progressive Farmer*, 44:51 (Dec. 21, 1929), p. 5.

<sup>36</sup> “Legge Flays U. S. Business Men,” *Ohio Farmer*, 165:19 (May 10, 1930), p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Ag. Situation, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (72 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), pp. 178-79.

<sup>38</sup> Sen. 1800, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (74 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), pp. 48, 66-67.

<sup>39</sup> Editorials, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 47:14 (Ap. 7, 1922), p. 5; 58:14 (Jy. 8, 1933), p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Editorials, *American Federationist*, 34:2 (Feb., 1927), pp. 148-49; 38:4 (Ap., 1931), p. 406.

E. L. Oliver, former Vice-President of Labors' Non Partisan League.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, the first doctrine of agrarianism was being transformed, however slowly, from a moral into an economic creed. Actually, it would be more accurate to say that there was a shift in emphasis, because the moral and economic arguments were not incompatible: they can be found muddled together in the speeches of many men.

Perhaps of more significance for the future, however, was the growing tendency of men in the 1920's and 1930's to look upon all industries as interdependent. This implied a rejection of the notion that any one industry, such as agriculture, was superior to any other, and involved recognition of the fact that every person's welfare was dependent upon the welfare of everyone else. This point of view became wide-spread among farmers in the 1920's, serving as an argument for government aid to agriculture.<sup>42</sup> It was strengthened by the depression, because commercial farmers began to appreciate more fully their dependence upon urban markets. Needless to say, the depression also converted many businessmen and laborers to a belief in the interdependence of all industries.

After the depression struck, the *Southern Agriculturist* argued that factory and farm were dependent upon each other. It quoted with approval a speech by Franklin Roosevelt (1936) in which the President affirmed that neither the farm nor the city could flourish without the prosperity of the other.<sup>43</sup> "A most significant thing is happening," proclaimed Philip S. Rose, editor of *Country Gentleman* (1933): "Out of disaster is coming a realization of the inseparable tie-up of American interests as a whole."<sup>44</sup> "Thank God we are learning that each of us is indeed 'his brother's keeper,' that no longer can one industry suffer without hurting every other industry," remarked Clarence Poe in the *Progressive Farmer*.<sup>45</sup> Similar views were championed by Samuel Gompers,<sup>46</sup> William Green,<sup>47</sup> and other labor leaders;<sup>48</sup> by James Cox, Democratic nominee for president in 1920;<sup>49</sup> by the automobile manufacturer, Henry Ford;<sup>50</sup> and by the editors of the *Financial Chronicle*<sup>51</sup> and *Manufacturers Record*.<sup>52</sup> Thus, the belief in the moral or

economic superiority of agriculture was being challenged by the idea that all industries were mutually interdependent, although this latter concept did not necessarily deny the necessity of agricultural prosperity or the primacy of agricultural production.

The second doctrine of agrarianism—the belief that farming is a way of life, not a business, and that the farmer living close to nature and God is morally superior to urban businessmen and laborers—was still alive in the 1920's and 1930's among some farm spokesmen. It was hardly ever mentioned by business or labor leaders, however. Apparently businessmen and laborers were more willing to salute the farmer for his production of food and purchasing power, than for any alleged moral superiority.

Belief in the moral superiority of the farmer was centered in the South, where it was frequently associated with the Southern way of life.<sup>53</sup> "Our Southern people have

<sup>41</sup> Sen. 2732, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (75 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> Editorials, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 46:1 (Jan. 7, 1921), p. 4; 46:26 (Jy. 1, 1921), p. 8. Editorials, *Southern Cultivator*, 79:18 (Sept. 15, 1921), p. 3; 85:3 (Feb. 1, 1927), p. 4. Editorial, *Ohio Farmer*, 155:3 (Jan. 17, 1925), p. 4. F. D. Farrell, "The Farmer," *Successful Farming*, (Dec., 1933), p. 8. Farm Commodity Prices, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (75 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), pp. 40, 49.

<sup>43</sup> Editorials, *Southern Agriculturist*, 61:7 (Jy., 1931), p. 12; 66:1 (Jan., 1936), p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Editorials, *Country Gentleman*, 90:6 (Feb. 7, 1925), p. 16; 103:2 (Feb., 1933), p. 18; 107:11 (Nov., 1937), p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> Clarence Poe, "Interpreting the World's News," *Progressive Farmer*, 48:7 (Jy., 1933), p. 18.

<sup>46</sup> Samuel Gompers, "Labor and the Farmers," *American Federationist*, 30:8 (Aug., 1923), pp. 621-22.

<sup>47</sup> William Green, "Farmers," *Ibid.*, 33:8 (Aug., 1926), pp. 926-27. Editorial, *Ibid.*, 37:9 (Sept., 1930), p. 1044.

<sup>48</sup> H. D. Hutchins, "Cooperation of Farmers and Industrial Workers," *Ibid.*, 30:2 (Feb., 1923), p. 129. Charlton Ogburn, "Farmers Need Labors' Cooperation," *Ibid.*, 46:1 (Jan., 1939), p. 28.

<sup>49</sup> Editorial, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 45:38 (Sept. 17, 1920), p. 2167.

<sup>50</sup> "Henry Ford on Farms and Factories," *Wallaces' Farmer*, 57:14 (Jy. 9, 1932), p. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Editorial, *Financial Chronicle*, 136:3526 (Jan. 21, 1933), p. 376.

<sup>52</sup> Editorials, *Manufacturers Record*, 86:11 (Sept. 11, 1924), p. 56; 94:12 (Sept. 20, 1928), p. 57. See also Charles D. Bohannon, "Agriculture is the Foundation of Manufacture and Commerce," *Ibid.*, 101:31 (Aug., 1932), pp. 33, 37.

<sup>53</sup> See especially: Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand* (N.Y., 1930). Donald Davidson, "Southern Agrarians State their Case," *Progressive Farmer*, 51:6 (Jc., 1936), pp. 5, 24. E. E. Miller, "What is the End of It All?" *Ibid.*, 42:2 (Oct. 8, 1927), p. 5.

been pre-eminent for caring more for life and graciousness of living—"the pursuit of happiness," we might call it—than for money," declared Clarence Poe in the *Progressive Farmer* (1935).<sup>54</sup> According to Poe, farmers were "partners and tenants of the Almighty." Farming, he reasoned, should be primarily a way of living, not a business.<sup>55</sup> Complaining that many people "look upon the farm as an industry, an opportunity for investment, as a means of making money," the *Southern Agriculturalist* (1928) protested that "to look upon the farm simply as a place to make a living, to exist, is to miss the whole thing."<sup>56</sup> G. F. Hunnicutt, editor of the *Southern Cultivator*, wished to see men farm because they loved it.<sup>57</sup> Other agricultural journals maintained that farming made a man more virtuous and and healthy,<sup>58</sup> more free and independent,<sup>59</sup> more conservative and patriotic.<sup>60</sup>

In spite of such moralizing, however, there was a growing tendency in the 1920's and 1930's to look upon the farmer as simply another businessman trying to make a profit, or as simply another laborer seeking higher wages for his work on the land. This attitude was especially evident in business and labor circles, and also among the large commercial farmers. "Farming is no more a mere mode of life, but it is a distinct business proposition," professed Robert Stewart (1929), Dean of the School of Agriculture of the University of Nevada, writing in *Bankers Magazine*.<sup>61</sup> "The farmer is a capitalist," declared the *Southern Agriculturalist* (1934); "certainly it is the primary business of the farmer to make money. . . ." <sup>62</sup> Like views were shared by numerous other farm editors and writers.<sup>63</sup>

According to the editors of *Southern Cultivator*, *Country Gentleman*, and *Economic Conditions*, the farm was simply a factory. The farmer was a proprietor who owned or hired raw materials and capital, supplied his own labor or hired that of others, produced a somewhat finished product, sold this product for cash in competition with others, and took the risks of the market.<sup>64</sup> "Farming is just as much a manufacturing process as making shoes, only more complicated, and just as much of a business as selling groceries, only more risky."<sup>65</sup>

Indeed, the editors of the *Farm Journal* (1928) and *Country Gentleman* (1927, 1928)

reduced farming to a branch of chemical engineering. "Agriculture," asserted the *Farm Journal*, "is the process of feeding cheap chemicals to living organisms, which are to be sold later at a profit."<sup>66</sup> According to a writer in *Country Gentleman*, plowing, seeding, and cultivating were industrial processes: "it is merely the making ready for a chemical reaction, just as the charging of a blast furnace. The harvesting, threshing, milling, and baking are wholly industrial."<sup>67</sup> Certainly there is little agrarian sentimentalism in these pronouncements.

Spokesmen for labor, on the other hand, insisted that farmers were not different from urban workers. "Where the individual toiler of the soil is concerned," argued Samuel Gompers (1924), "he is exactly in the category of the wage earner. He uses tools and works

<sup>54</sup> Clarence Poe, "Interpreting the World's News," *Ibid.*, 50:9 (Sept., 1935), p. 50.

<sup>55</sup> Clarence Poe, "We Are Tenants of the Almighty," "Some Farmers Are Real Farmers," *Ibid.*, 38:18 (May 5, 1923), p. 5; 38:20 (May 19, 1923), p. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Editorials, *Southern Agriculturalist*, 58:4 (Feb. 15, 1928), p. 6; 57:177 (Sept. 1, 1927), p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Editorials, *Southern Cultivator*, 81:9 (May 1, 1923), p. 2; 83:7 (Apr. 1, 1925), p. 2; 83:21 (Nov. 1, 1925), p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Editorials, *Country Gentleman*, 89:40 (Oct. 4, 1924), p. 14; 91:6 (Jan., 1926), p. 24; 104:11 (Nov., 1934), p. 20.

<sup>59</sup> Editorial, *Progressive Farmer*, 39:28 (Jy. 12, 1924), p. 4. Clarence Poe, "What Rewards Does Farming Offer Us?" *Ibid.*, 45:7 (Feb. 15, 1930), p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Editorials, *Wallace's Farmer*, 45:7 (Feb. 13, 1920), p. 519; 52:37 (Sept. 16, 1927), p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Stewart, "Helping the Farmer Merge," *Bankers Magazine*, 119:4 (Oct., 1929), p. 517. See also Arthur Capper, "A Square Deal for the Farmer," *Ibid.*, 108:1 (Jan., 1924), p. 22. E. B. Harshaw, "Does It Pay Banks to Help Farmers?" *Ibid.*, 110:6 (Jan., 1925), p. 973.

<sup>62</sup> Editorials, *Southern Agriculturalist*, 56:10 (May 15, 1926), p. 3; 64:9 (Sept., 1934), p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Editorial, *Wallace's Farmer*, 45:5 (Jan. 30, 1920), p. 339. Editorial, *Ohio Farmer*, 152:2 (Jy. 14, 1923), p. 4. R. H. Schryver, "Agriculture—A Banker's Viewpoint," and V. H. Davis, "Agriculture from the Sidelines," *Ibid.*, 159:6 (Feb. 5, 1927), p. 3; 167:24 (Je. 13, 1931), p. 3. Editorial, *Progressive Farmer*, 39:2 (Jan. 12, 1924), p. 4; Editorial, *Southern Planter*, 98:7 (July, 1937), p. 16; Editorial, *Successful Farming*, (March, 1930), p. 10.

<sup>64</sup> Editorial, *Southern Cultivator*, 84:15 (Aug. 1, 1926), p. 4. Editorials, *Country Gentleman*, 90:34 (Aug. 22, 1925), p. 22; 93:5 (May, 1928), p. 22. Editorial, *Economic Conditions*, (Oct., 1924), p. 159.

<sup>65</sup> Editorial, *Country Gentleman*, 87:27 (Aug. 12, 1922), p. 12.

<sup>66</sup> Editorial, *Farm Journal*, 52:4 (Apr., 1928), p. 8.

<sup>67</sup> Samuel Crowther, "The New Agriculture," *Country Gentleman*, 92:10 (Oct., 1927), pp. 3, 49. Editorial, *Ibid.*, 93:1 (Jan., 1928), p. 22.



to create articles of value."<sup>68</sup> "Labor generally feels," testified E. L. Oliver of Labors' Non Partisan League (1937), "that what the farmer has in his farm is after all practically just a job and that he is certainly as much a workingman as is the industrial wage earner."<sup>69</sup> As a matter of fact, William Green and other labor leaders looked upon the farmer as simply another worker who needed to be organized into cooperatives or unions to improve his bargaining power.<sup>70</sup> When farm cooperatives withheld grain from the market to raise prices, argued Gompers (1921), it was equivalent to a strike by a labor union.<sup>71</sup> The farmer was thus being reduced in some circles to equality with the urban worker.

As for the third doctrine of agrarianism—the belief that America should remain rural in order to avoid the growth of cities and national decay—the *de facto* urbanization of America was leading many farmers to abandon this attitude in the 1920's and 1930's. Nevertheless, many agriculturalists clung stubbornly to the old belief that the urbanization of America would lead to national ruin. Vehement opposition to excessive urbanization came from numerous farm writers, who repeatedly warned that America would go the way of ancient Rome if she sacrificed agriculture for industrialization.<sup>72</sup> "Babylons like New York and Chicago . . . are cancerous growths," declared *Wallaces' Farmer* (1926), because they produce crime, class warfare, international strife, and many other evils.<sup>73</sup> A writer in the *Southern Agriculturalist* (1929) complained that the growth of city-life was endangering Americanism by undermining individualism, self-reliance, and freedom of contract; and by introducing alien and radical elements into the country.<sup>74</sup>

On other occasions, however, farm writers admitted that there were too many people on the land and defended the country to city migration as necessary, inevitable, and natural.<sup>75</sup> So did many businessmen.<sup>76</sup> The editor of the *Southern Agriculturalist* was not opposed to the urbanization of America because "the best of the great civilizations of the past has belonged to the cities. In the cities have been centered the wealth, the leisure, the learning that made culture possible. . . . The civilization we would develop in America

is to make them [i.e., wealth and leisure] a common possession, and a common possession not less of the fields than of the city."<sup>77</sup> Thus, Americans held conflicting and ambivalent opinions as to the ultimate results of urbanization.

Unfortunately, space does not permit a more detailed treatment of the rural-urban debate of the 1920's and 1930's. Suffice it to say, the acceptance of urbanization by more and more farmers did not mean that they approved of city life. Farmers were, in fact, often critical of the moral, social, and intellectual consequences of urban life and routine factory

<sup>68</sup> Editorial, *American Federationist*, 31:10 (Oct., 1924), pp. 819-20. See also Alice Nealeans, "Labors' Share in Teaching Farmers the Value of Organization," *Ibid.*, 29:7 (Jy., 1922), pp. 517-18. John Alvin Commons, "The Farmer Tries Collective Bargaining," *Ibid.*, 35:2 (Feb., 1928), p. 164.

<sup>69</sup> Sen. 2732, Hearing Sen. Com. on Ag., (75 Cong., 1 sess., Wash.), p. 6.

<sup>70</sup> Editorials, *American Federationist*, 36:9 (Sept., 1929), pp. 1042-43; 40:3 (Mar., 1933), p. 232. See also "Unions of Agricultural Workers," *Ibid.*, 43:6 (June, 1936), pp. 632-33; and Leif Drake, "Agricultural Labor and Social Legislation," *Ibid.*, 44:2 (Feb., 1937), pp. 137-45.

<sup>71</sup> Editorial, *American Federationist*, 28:1 (Jan., 1921), p. 59.

<sup>72</sup> Editorials, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 45:1 (Jan. 2, 1920), p. 7; 55:28 (Jy. 12, 1930), p. 5; 63:8 (Ap. 9, 1938), p. 6. Editorial, *Southern Cultivator*, 86:16 (Aug. 15, 1928), p. 8. Harvie Jordan, "Agricultural Rehabilitation Essential . . ." *Ibid.*, 90:6 (Jy. 15, 1932), p. 2. Editorial, *Country Gentleman*, 85:15 (Ap. 10, 1920), p. 16. Clarence Poe, "The World's News," *Progressive Farmer*, 41:7 (Sept. 11, 1926), p. 5. Editorial, *Ibid.*, 44:24 (Je. 15, 1929), p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Editorials, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 51:28 (Jy. 9, 1926), p. 7; 45:34 (Aug. 20, 1920), p. 1987. Clarence B. Burdick, "Will History Repeat," *Ibid.*, 55:49 (Dec. 6, 1930), p. 10.

<sup>74</sup> Dr. Gus W. Dyer, "The Menace of the City to American Ideals," *Southern Agriculturalist*, 58:22 (Nov. 15, 1928), pp. 3, 25.

<sup>75</sup> Editorials, *Wallaces' Farmer*, 54:13 (Mar. 29, 1929), p. 4; 45:36 (Sept. 3, 1920), p. 2066. E. V. Wilcox, "Who Is Quitting and Why," *Country Gentleman*, 101:3 (Mar., 1931), p. 18. J. Sidney Cates, "More Jobs—Better Markets," *Ibid.*, 108:1 (Jan., 1938), p. 23. Editorial, *Southern Cultivator*, 82:9 (May 1, 1924), p. 2. Editorial, *Progressive Farmer*, 39:15 (Ap. 12, 1924), p. 4. Clarence Poe, "The World's News," *Ibid.*, 38:23 (Je. 9, 1923), p. 5. Editorial, *Ohio Farmer*, 164:5 (Aug. 3, 1929), p. 4. Editorial, *Successful Farming*, (Je., 1930), p. 10. Editorial, *Southern Planter*, 99:8 (Aug., 1938), p. 6. Dr. O. Latham Hatcher, "Rural Youth and the City," *Ibid.*, 99:8 (Aug., 1938), p. 24.

<sup>76</sup> Editorials, *Bankers Magazine*, 117:1 (Jy., 1928), pp. 1, 2; 121:5 (Nov., 1930), p. 586. "The Movement to the Cities," *Economic Conditions*, (Aug., 1923), p. 116; "The Argument of Country vs. City," *Ibid.*, (Oct., 1925), p. 174. "Proposed Legislation Unnecessary," *Ibid.*, (Je., 1926), p. 111.

<sup>77</sup> Editorials, *Southern Agriculturalist*, 56:20 (Oct. 15, 1926), p. 3; 57:12 (Je. 15, 1927), p. 3.

work. Yet, in spite of their hostility toward the city and factory, farmers were eager to acquire many of the benefits of industrialization—automobiles, radios, washing machines, electric power tools, and so on. Needless to say, when the depression struck in the 1930's, farm life suddenly appeared more attractive to farmers as well as to city workers.

In summary, it may be said that agrarianism was still very much alive in the 1920's and 1930's, but that the emphasis was shifting from moral to economic terms. The moral belief that agriculture was basic because it fed and clothed the nation was giving way to the economic argument that agriculture was important because of its purchasing

power, and to the idea that all industries were interdependent. The faith that the farmer was morally superior to townsmen was being challenged by the idea that the farmer was simply another businessman or laborer striving to make money. Finally, the fear that the urbanization of America would lead to national decay was being tempered by the realization that the march to the city was necessary and inevitable. Since the moral and economic arguments were not necessarily incompatible, and were often used indiscriminately, it would be difficult to estimate the strength of moral agrarianism in these two decades. It would seem, however, that moral agrarianism was being secularized.

#### THE INDEPENDENT YEOMAN

The husbandman is much more independent in his circumstances than other men. Very generally, in this country at least, he owns the soil he tills, in fee simple. The roof that shelters his family, the barn that protects his crops and cattle, the acres that yield them sustenance, are his for a possession. He is made as secure in the enjoyment of his home, as it is possible for mortals to be. No landlord may turn him out at the close of the year. Every improvement made upon his premises, is for his benefit, and that of his family. There is joy in ownership in the soil, somewhat difficult to analyze, but a reality, as all know who have experienced it. The affections cling to it quite as tenaciously as to living things. With many, local attachments are much stronger than the love of animals. They can substitute one horse for another, or one cow for another, without any painful emotion, but the disruption of home ties would be felt as a life-long calamity. There is literally no spot like home to them. Their affections take root in the soil of their birth place, with every orchard they plant, with every ornamental tree they set by the road side. The home feeling grows with every crop they cultivate, with every fence they put up, and with every building they erect.

Here they are in a good measure independent of the world. The farm yields them almost every necessity of life, with a superabundance to exchange for its superfluities. This was more the case in the good old days of homespun, than at present, and if necessity ever requires it, we can go back again to the cards and the spinning wheel, to the hand shuttle and the loom. It adds not a little to the comfort of life, to know that our daily bread does not depend upon the caprice or necessities of an employer. No change in the times deprives the farmer of occupation. His work is laid out before him for years, and he knows that as long as the soil yields its increase, and he can work, there will be meal in his bin, corn in his crib, and pork in his barrel. His sheep will raise wool, and his meadows flax, whether cotton is king or not. The doors of the school-house will be open for his children, whether the temple of Janus is closed or open. The cities may be swept by the desolations of war, but the farms can hardly be ruined. The world must eat, and while wheat and corn grow, and calves and pigs make beef and pork, he will have something to sell, and a market for his products. It is one of the misfortunes of most other callings that they are dependent, for the necessities of existence. The laborer has nothing but labor to sell, and when that fails his condition is very sad.

From *American Agriculturist*, Sept., 1861



## Man and Land in Israel\*

MARION CLAWSON

Man's ideals and goals, and his concepts of proper relationship to his fellow man, govern his use of land and his land institutions fully as much as do the physical and strictly economic aspects of his environment. This old truth has perhaps no better illustration than in modern Israel.

What is today included in Israel is an ancient land, with a rich recorded history and surely much human experience before the beginning of recorded history. It is a land much fought over, the home of various peoples. Land has been farmed for many centuries. As one looks at some of the narrow terraces along limestone ledges in its hills, one has no sure way of knowing whether those terraces are a hundred or a thousand years old, or older. Many techniques of agriculture have been used here, and many relationships of man to man and of man to land. My concern today is with the last 75 years, and more particularly with the last 40 years.

Though the Jews once occupied the land of Israel, they had lost all but token physical contact with it for centuries, but it still played a major role in their thoughts, dreams, and hopes. Although some Jews began returning to Israel for religious reasons as long as 400 years ago, no serious attempts at agriculture date back more than 100 years. By 1900 there were some 18 Jewish agricultural settlements in what was then Turkish Palestine.<sup>1</sup> In the next 20 years, until the area became a British Mandate, new settlements were formed with great difficulty. The Turks were unwilling to provide legal means of land acquisition and immigration. However, these were in many ways the most important formative years, for the major features of Israel's present land system took shape in those years. Under British jurisdiction, from 1920 to 1948, land acquisi-

tion and immigration were still severely restricted. Only with the coming of independence in 1948 was the country able to settle the land fully and to carry its agricultural development forward vigorously.

It is difficult to convey the full ideological significance of land to the Zionists who began agricultural settlements in the years from about 1900 onward. These Jews had generally been denied land ownership in the countries in which they had lived. They were without exception discriminated against in various serious ways, often subject to persecution and to pogroms. They had become city dwellers, often small shopkeepers. The pre-Zionist agricultural settlements in Palestine in the late 19th century to a considerable extent were Jewish landowners operating with hired Arab labor. The new Zionist movement rejected this practice, believing man should live by his own work, and that the only real claim to land came from working it. "One thought was ever-present in their minds: to lay the foundations for a new Palestine that was to be based on social justice and the toil of their own hands."<sup>2</sup> As Chaim Weizmann said, "... the backbone of our work is and must always be agricultural colonization. It is in the village that the real soul of a people—its language, its poetry, its literature, its traditions—springs up from the intimate contact between man and soil. The towns do no more than 'process' the fruits of the villages."<sup>3</sup>

This ideological glorification of agriculture, and more particularly of an agriculture based upon a family working unit, still persists strongly in Israel, though in a somewhat less simple and more sophisticated form. Given such an attitude, economic considerations of cost, efficiency, and net return usually have taken a back seat.

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\* A paper prepared for the joint meeting of the Agricultural Historical Society and the American Historical Association, New York City, December 30, 1960.

<sup>1</sup> Alex Bein, *The Return to the Soil* (Jerusalem: Youth and Hechalutz Department of the Zionist Organization, 1952).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), 278.

The early Zionist settlers faced severe difficulties, aside from the problems of securing land and indeed of legal entry into the country, to which reference already has been made. They knew almost nothing of farming, often little of manual work of any kind. "The human problem that faced us was the highly complex one of absorbing into agriculture immigrants who were by nature and training urban, and who had been divorced all their lives, like their ancestors for hundreds of years, from agricultural pursuits and traditions. Our material was, in fact, what our enemies sometimes called 'the sweepings of the ghetto.'"<sup>4</sup> The land which they were able to obtain was almost always depleted in fertility, often swampy, rocky, or otherwise not valuable to the Arabs or others who sold it to them. They lacked capital, in spite of the efforts of various Jewish organizations to help the colonization program. The Arab *fellahin* who occupied the land earned but the most meager of existence wages, and if the new Jewish settlers produced similar crops, they had a hard time earning more. The lack of law and order—attacks, raids, murder, and theft—also hampered the early settlers down to the time of independence.

Under these difficult conditions, the Jews developed unique methods of holding and using land. Partly to prevent competition among Jews in buying such land as was available for purchase from non-Jews; partly to insure that such land as was purchased would remain in Jewish hands and not be sold to others; and partly to facilitate the raising and the expenditure of funds solicited in other countries, the Jewish National Fund was created as the chief mechanism for land purchase and ownership. Until independence in 1948, most of the land available to the Jews for agriculture was owned by this Fund. Since then, the State of Israel, taking over the lands previously owned by Arabs, is the larger owner, but its methods of land management have been modeled closely on those of JNF. The lands so owned have not been sold, but have been rented on long-term leases to actual farmers. These leaseholds can be inherited and passed from father to son. Given the political structure of modern Israel, it can be asserted that the typical land-occupier feels as secure in his rights on the land under this

arrangement as do owners in most countries. The rentals charged on these lands have been very low, partly as a matter of principle and partly because originally low rentals were not increased in spite of a long continued and very severe inflation. In fact, the rentals have been so low as almost to lead to "price-less" land. "The policy of charging equal rents—and very low ones at that—for land with greatly varying economic attributes has led to a serious misallocation of resources within the farming sector."<sup>5</sup>

The Zionists developed various settlement schemes, which fall into two major classes: *moshavim*, or cooperative villages, and *kibbutzim*, or communal settlements. There are variants of each, but the following description fits the most common types of each.

Cooperative village settlement was urged by the earliest Zionist leaders. Village settlement was wise in any case, to provide greater security; nearly all the Arabs lived in villages for this reason. With poor transportation, the villages also made social life of all kinds easier. Although villages of much larger and much smaller size have been promoted and still exist, the newer farming villages and the most common ones have roughly 70 families, or perhaps 350 people. Cooperatives seemed an obvious solution for people living closely together, facing highly similar problems, often not well able to cope individually with those problems. Moreover, since these people had not previously operated individual farms, they found nothing strange in the cooperative. Today, the buying of farm supplies, the buying and retailing of groceries and other household supplies, the sale of agricultural products, and many other aspects of farm and home life are carried out cooperatively. Machinery is often owned cooperatively by a few farmers, and tractors and larger machinery can be obtained from central tractor and machine stations, owned cooperatively. Land, particularly unirrigated land growing hay and other fodder crops, is often farmed by the cooperative in the village. All in all, cooperatives enter into the daily lives of the typical farmer and his family in a *moshav* to a vastly greater extent

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> Alex Rubner, "The 'Price-Less' Land of Israel," *Land Economics*, XXXIV (November, 1958).

than they do anywhere in this country. At the same time, the individual farmer holds his tracts of land by lease, owns his own buildings and livestock, and largely makes his own managerial decisions, although both government and cooperative influence these. Certainly the individual farmer obtains and must accept variations in income growing out of his own operations.

The other chief system of farm organization, the *kibbutz* (plural, *kibbutzim*), evolved directly out of settlers' experiences rather than from any intellectually-derived colonization plan. Faced with the problems of maintaining individual households, cooking, sewing, tending children, and the like, some of the settlers began sharing their work, both in the homes and in the fields.<sup>6</sup> This informal arrangement soon led to a more formal one, carrying the same general ideas much further. In a typical *kibbutz* today, all the adults eat in a common dining hall, all laundry is done in a single laundry together, the children live and are taught in special children's houses, the adults live in small apartments where they do no cooking, but to which the children can go to visit daily. Work assignments, in field, stable, kitchen, laundry, children's house, or wherever, are made by a central elected management. No one receives any wages, and in fact many members see no cash at all except when they get their clothing allowance or go on a vacation. Anyone is free to leave. Since the policy of many, perhaps most, *kibbutzim* is not to accumulate capital but rather to operate on borrowed capital, the departing member really has little equity in the physical assets, and often is given a small cash sum merely as an aid to getting established elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

Both types of agricultural settlements have been located for strategic as well as for economic reasons, both during the Mandatory period and since independence. That is, settlements in recent years have been located near the border, partly to serve as a screen against infiltrators, while others have been located in thinly settled parts of the country in accordance with the creed that no moral right exists for land which is not used. In the earlier period, settlements were located for their potential military value in the event hostilities might come, such as those actually experi-

enced during the War of Independence. As a result of this system of location, some agricultural settlements are attempting to farm under very difficult and costly conditions.

The *kibbutzim*, and to a lesser extent the *moshavim*, carry on non-agricultural activities; e.g., small industries in some *moshavim* employ farmers and members of their families. The *kibbutzim*, as organizations, carry on extensive industrial, transportation, and other economic activities. They have also played other important roles in the state. For instance, they have served as training areas for immigrants, and their members have formed teams for various missions in countries from which emigrants came, as well as carried out difficult missions within Israel. The *kibbutzim* should not be judged as economic farming enterprises only. They have exerted a social and political leadership wholly out of proportion to their numbers. They also have carried out extensive cultural activities for their members. The only close analogy in the western world with which the author is familiar are the feudal orders of the Middle Ages.

With the major exception of the specialized citrus groves, most agriculture in Israel is diversified and intensive.<sup>8</sup> The typical *moshav* farm consists of seven acres, much of which is irrigated. Irrigated fruits and vegetables are grown for market; feed crops are grown for a small herd of perhaps three to eight dairy cows, and a sizable flock of chickens is kept for commercial production of eggs. Although one can point to numerous minor variations of this basic pattern, there is remarkably little geographic specialization, in spite of considerable natural and economic differences between

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Baratz, *A Village by the Jordan—The Story of Degania* (London: The Harvill Press, 1954).

<sup>7</sup> For a sympathetic account of the *kibbutz* by a member, see "Communal Farming in Israel," by Joseph Shatil, *Land Economics*, XXXII (May, 1956). For a more critical account, see "Collective Land Settlement in Israel," by E. G. Mayer, *International Journal of Agrarian Affairs*, October, 1953.

<sup>8</sup> Accessible references for U. S. readers, although now more than five years old, are: Marion Clawson, "Israel Agriculture in Recent Years," *Agricultural History*, 29:49-65 (April, 1955); and *Israel Agriculture 1953/54*, a Report prepared by the Joint Planning Center for Agriculture and Colonization and the Economic Advisory Staff, published by the Government Printer, Hakiryah, Tel Aviv, Israel.

various parts of the country. *Kibbutzim* tend to have closely similar enterprises, although some variation exists among them also. Settlement and agricultural concepts held by agricultural leaders seem to have dominated farming more than the purely natural and economic factors.

*Kibbutzim* oppose hired labor as a matter of principle, but may hire some during special emergencies. There is also much social pressure against hiring labor in *moshavim*, although it is much more common here. Typically, however, the agricultural operations are carried on by the labor force on the farm. One basic objective in farm management is to provide productive employment opportunity throughout the year for the farm labor force. The older and better developed farms in *moshavim* will provide from 400 to 800 productive days employment annually.

On the whole, the level of agricultural competence is fairly high. Dairy cows of improved breed are common, are fed and managed intensively, and produce about as well as their counterparts in the United States. Poultry enterprises are typically managed at a high technical level. Fertilizers, insecticides, and other inputs are used with a high degree of skill. This has been possible in large part because of the able technical specialists provided by the Jewish Agency and, since independence, by the Ministry of Agriculture. The benefits of science have been brought to agriculture in a striking way, especially considering the relatively low level from which agriculture started 60 years or so ago. In spite of a degree of mechanization approaching that of the United States, labor is yet used with much less efficiency than here. However, important progress has been made in this direction also.

In the older and better developed agricultural settlements, living conditions are fairly good, even by U. S. standards. Throughout Israel there are excellent health services on a relatively low cost health insurance plan; and schools, especially up to the secondary level, are universal and good. Older farmers typically have good but modest homes, with electricity, modern plumbing, radios, and other conveniences. Automobile ownership is, of course, far less common than here—is, in fact, among farmers quite uncommon. But it should be pointed out also that it is much less necessary than for our farmers. The more recent settlers have not attained these levels, although their progress has been variable. Many still rely to a significant degree on a few days employment each month on public works projects for a necessary part of their cash income.

Israel agriculture still faces major economic problems, as does the nation as a whole. Except for citrus, major competitive agricultural exports have not developed. Agriculture has been and is heavily subsidized—in irrigation water costs, in direct subsidies, in credit, in imported feedstuffs on which the dairy and poultry enterprises heavily depend, and in other ways. But enormous progress has been made in a period of two generations since the earliest Zionist agricultural settlements and in a period much less than a generation for the large post-Independence immigrants. We can be confident that much further progress can and will be made in the decades ahead. One can say that the tenure arrangements under which land is held have been an integral part of this rapid progress. It may be that other arrangements would have worked as well, or possibly better, but no one can deny that the arrangements developed in Israel have worked well for that country.

## Feudalism to Family Farms in France

FREDERIC O. SARGENT

France is a pre-eminent example of a nation whose agricultural sector is made up of family owned and operated farms. In a world in which land reform is often the key to economic development and in which the family farm is considered a major political and social goal, it may be profitable to examine the experience of a nation that evolved family farms from feudal tenure patterns. The purpose of this paper is to trace the development from feudalism to the present French family owned and operated farms in order to determine the principal factors which contributed to that development. This account will not necessarily indicate how family farms may be developed in other countries, but it will shed some light on the process of rural economic development and suggest hypotheses concerning family farm development which might profitably be considered in countries facing a land reform problem and wishing to develop family farms.

The method of this analysis is to describe the land ownership pattern of pre-revolutionary France, to review the principal effects of the Revolution on land tenure, to trace the growth of peasant ownership during the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth, and finally to indicate the implications of this development for those currently concerned with similar problems.<sup>1</sup>

### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LAND OWNERSHIP PATTERN

In order to provide an account of the land ownership pattern in France on the eve of the Revolution, it is necessary to review the division of land among the principal land-holding classes of society—the nobility, the clergy, the bourgeoisie, and the peasantry. For this purpose there are no data in the modern sense of the word, but we do have the work of the French scholar, Henri Sée,

who arrived at an approximation of the division of land among the various classes.<sup>2</sup> The figures concerning the holdings of the nobles and clergy apply only to their *domaine proche* (nearby domain), not to all the land whose cultivators owned them fealty. Theoretically, the clergy and nobles possessed nearly all the land, but actually they exercised only a weak seigniorial authority over many of the peasant tenures.<sup>3</sup> A provincial seigneur might have no land of which he was the owner in the sense of having the right of alienation and disposition, but he still might draw an appreciable income from the *cens* and other dues which he received.<sup>4</sup>

The clergy held much less rural land than did the nobles. Sée and M. G. Lecarpentier agree that, on the average, ecclesiastical property amounted to only six per cent of the territory of France. There are, however, several important factors to be considered besides the percentages. The ecclesiastics comprised only 1.8 per cent of the population. The wealth of the high clergy was based largely on urban properties and the collection of the *dime* or tithe. Another factor was that the clergy's and nobles' holdings generally included the best alluvial soil and were frequently in the vicinity of large towns where marketing conditions were optimum and the land much more valuable. A large part of

<sup>1</sup> To cover the sweep of years from pre-Revolutionary France to the present necessitates a focus on major trends and causal factors and an avoidance of detailed analysis and documentation. For a more detailed treatment of this subject see: Frederic O. Sargent, "Land Tenure in the Agriculture of France," Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1952, written under the supervision of Kenneth H. Parsons.

<sup>2</sup> Henri Sée, "Histoire économique de la France," Librairie Armand Colin, Paris, 1948, p. 173. Sée bases his figures on a study of the Terriers or land registers and upon the work of the Russian scholar, J. Louchisky, who studied the tax rolls (*vingtièmes*). None of the figures are absolutely accurate; all are open to some question, but taken together they give a general picture of the land distribution pattern of the period.

<sup>3</sup> Henri Sée, *La France économique et sociale au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1946), p. 10. Also see Marc Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, (Oslo, 1931), p. 107 ff.

<sup>4</sup> John Harold Clapham, *The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1928, pp. 18-19.

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the nobles' holdings consisted of woods and forests.

Only very rarely were either noble or clerical land exploited by a single tenant. Neither could the nobility or clergy very often practice large-scale production themselves as their holdings consisted of numerous parcels scattered over a wide area.

The peasants held land under various forms of tenure. There were wide variations in the amount they held among and within regions (See Table 1). As the peasants constituted about 90 per cent of the proprietors, it is evident that holdings in many regions were very small. Furthermore, their holdings tended to be of poorer quality than that of other holders because of either the distance

who could afford to do so rented additional land and became *fermiers*. Those who were not able to rent additional land became *métayers* (share-croppers). The least fortunate farmers augmented the income from their garden plots by day labor on the larger estates. Some peasant proprietors supplemented their farming by working as innkeepers, merchants, millers and artisans. The peasants who could live exclusively from their own patrimony constituted a peasant aristocracy called *laboureurs* (plowmen). This class was very small. In most of France there was no large class of agricultural laborers, except in the North where a landless rural proletariat developed.<sup>7</sup>

A great number of peasants held only a

TABLE 1  
Percentage of Land Held by Nobles, Clergy, and Peasants in 18th Century France.\*

Holdings of Nobles <sup>b</sup>		Holdings of Clergy <sup>b</sup>		Holdings of Peasants <sup>b</sup>	
Province	Per Cent	Province	Per Cent	Province	Per Cent
Artois	29	Artois	20-35	Bretagne	20
Picardie	33	Pays de Leon	29	Normandie	20
Bourgogne	35	Picardie	18	Poitou	20
Limousin	15	Bourgogne	11-15	Nord	33
Haute-Auvergne	11	Berry	15	Orléanais	33
Quercy	15	Touraine	10	Bourgogne	33
Dauphine	12	Auvergne	3.5	Dauphine	40
Landes	22	Bas Limousin		Limousin	50
Béarn	20	& Quercy	2	Quercy	50
Pays Toulousain	28	Béarn	1.5	Auvergne	50
Roussillon	32	Landes	1	Languedoc	50
Orléanais	40	Pays Toulousain	3.9	Roussillon	50
		Roussillon	2.5	Guyenne	50
		Pays de Rennes	3.4	Provence	50
				Béarn	50
				Midi	50

\* These percentages are not additive since communal lands are not included and estimates are not on a comparable basis for all holders.

to the market or the nature of the soil. However, in comparison with the peasants of other European countries, the French peasant of the 18th century had an enviable position. He was personally free and the gradual decay of the feudal regime had left many of them virtual proprietors (subject to a *cens* or quit-rent) of a few of the many parcels they worked.

The extent of each peasant's holdings determined his status in peasant society. The majority of peasants did not possess enough land to enable them to live exclusively from the cultivation of their own holdings. Those

very small amount of land. This was especially true in the North. M. G. Lefebvre says that in the Cambrésis, 60 to 70 per cent of the inhabitants possessed less than one hectare and that only 20 per cent possessed between one and five hectares, the minimum amount of land necessary for self sufficiency.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Henri Sée, *Esquisse d'une histoire du régime agricole en Europe au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1921), p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Compiled from Sée, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Georges Lizerand, *Le régime rural de l'ancienne France* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1942), 93.

<sup>8</sup> Georges Lefebvre, *Les paysans du Nord et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1924), identified as a *thèse de doctorat*.

These tiny holdings were also numerous in Flandre, Hainaut, Artou, Picardie, Normandie, and Bretagne. In these regions a drought or other cause of crop failure produced extreme misery among the small holders and led to begging and vagabondage.

Under the feudal regime the peasant holdings, although small, constituted a first step toward ownership and provided a basis for further acquisition.

#### THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONCEPT OF 'PROPERTY'

The principal innovation of the French Revolution concerning rights in land was the change which it wrought in the meaning of the concept 'property'. The pre-commercial and pre-capitalistic, feudalistic concept of land and people being inextricably tied together with mutual rights and duties was replaced by the commercial and capitalistic concept of land as a factor of production. Under the new concept the many rights in land were concentrated to a much greater extent in the hands of a single owner instead of being distributed among the members of a socio-political-military or religious hierarchy. The greater concentration of rights in the hands of the owner made it more feasible for him to sell land, buy land, cultivate it as he wished, or enclose it to exclude others. These more exclusive rights of the owner were inscribed in the *Code Civil* and became the law of the land.<sup>9</sup>

All rights in land not held by the proprietor were held by the state. The numerous rights of local and ecclesiastical authorities along with their burdensome taxes were abolished.

This change was not an abrupt break with the past. In many instances the reform laws of the Revolution were not innovations but legal confirmations of *de facto* reforms which had long since replaced the obsolete feudal practices.<sup>10</sup> The absence of any abrupt change between the *Ancien Régime* and post-Revolutionary France was evident in many aspects of French rural life. The crops grown, the techniques of production, the isolation of the peasants, and their attitudes and values generally were unchanged by the Revolution and indeed changed but slowly in the following century.

One of the most tenacious of these strongly held values and one which materially affected land acquisition by peasants was the peasant's passionate desire for land ownership, and the security which land represented. This appetite was not assuaged by the Revolution but was given new stimulus by the establishment of the possibility of achieving a higher degree of ownership. Since land had become a marketed and marketable product free from feudal claims, the peasant had but to raise a surplus for the city market, save his francs, and he could buy more land.

*This incentive of greater opportunities for ownership, coupled with the peasants' ability to take advantage of every opportunity and his tenacity at conserving his inheritance, was one of the principal underlying forces leading to the establishment of a country of small proprietors.*

#### THE SALE OF NATIONAL LAND

Second only to the change in the concept of property in altering the tenure pattern was the sale of national lands. The new concept of property made the purchase of land by peasants more general; the sale of national lands put considerable quantities of arable land on the market.<sup>11</sup> The peasant took advantage of this situation according to his financial resources and his ability to meet the competition of bourgeois buyers. The lands of first origin (church lands) were nearly always sold in very large lots which only the bourgeoisie or rich peasants could afford to buy.<sup>12</sup> For the lands of second origin (those of the émigrés) the decrees of June 3, 1793, and December 24, 1793, ordered the cutting up of the properties and the division of the parcels of land. This division of the land in addition to the inflation of money and the rise in the price of agricultural products facilitated peasant purchases. However, these peasant acquisitions were not looked upon favorably by the Convention which adopted measures to limit them. In

<sup>9</sup> Félicien Challaye, *Histoire de la propriété* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), 83 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Bloch, *l'histoire rurale française*, p. 135.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Ph. Sagnac, *La division du sol pendant la Révolution et ses conséquences* (Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 1904).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. Loutchisky, *Quelques remarques sur la vente des biens nationaux* (Paris, 1913), 77 ff.



order to compete with the comparatively rich bourgeoisie, the peasants had devised the techniques of pooling their money to make a purchase and then dividing the land among the pool members according to each member's contribution. The decree of April 24, 1793, explicitly forbade such pooling operations. This law was not only diligently enforced but was even applied retroactively in some places where peasant purchases were repossessed and resold. On the other hand the law requiring division of the lands before sale was not always enforced, as the local administrators were almost always opposed to excessive fragmentation of holdings.

The sales made by the state were principally to the bourgeoisie, who nearly always bought the more favorably situated and more fertile land.<sup>13</sup> The peasants were able to profit only from the resale of land in small lots and the sale of poor quality and poorly situated land. However, the peasant's economic and bargaining position improved considerably as the shortage of farm produce raised prices and as the *assignat*<sup>14</sup> continued to decline in value.

The terms of land sale and depreciation of the *assignat* combined to give the purchasers very reasonable terms of sale. At first, 12 years were allowed for full payment. This was later reduced to four years. The progressive depreciation of the *assignat* made each successive payment less difficult to meet.

By 1795 most of the national property had been sold. In all, from 25,000 to 29,000 estates of the nobles and 60,000 religious holdings had been sold to about 2,000,000 families.

Among those two million families was a significant number of *métayers*, *fermiers*, day laborers, and small holders who were able to buy small lots and so increase their modest patrimony. It is difficult to determine the respective proportions of these acquisitions which were made by the bourgeoisie and by the peasants. The incomplete and fragmentary sources which we have indicate that in some regions the peasants acquired as much as half of the land while in others they were much less fortunate.

*In summary, it appears that the sale of National lands made it possible for large numbers of peasants to acquire small parcels of land.*

#### PEASANT OWNERSHIP INCREASES 1800-1850

After the Revolution economic development was not rapid. During the period of the *Monarchie Censitaire*, France was still primarily an agricultural country. Even in 1850, agricultural wealth was still greater than the wealth of other sectors of the economy. In the early eighteen hundreds the *Bourse* and the banks were not very active and were developing only slowly. In 1846 the rural population consisted of 26,753,000 people—about three fourths of the total population.<sup>15</sup>

The economic conditions under the Directorate and Napoleon Bonaparte were not very favorable to an increase of peasant proprietorship. The tax load on the peasants continued to be high even with some of the more abusive levies of the *Ancien Régime* removed. Incessant wars and attempts at foreign conquest brought glory to their instigator and to France, but they brought only the bitter fruit of continued impoverishment to the majority of the French people.

On the other side of the ledger there were several factors which gradually and cumulatively favored an increase in peasant proprietorships. One of the basic aids to peasant efforts to accumulate capital was the stability of the franc. The law of the 7 Germinal, year XI (March 28, 1803), established a sound monetary base for economic activity. This made saving, the peasants' principal means of capital accumulation, safer and more secure than ever before.

Another factor which ironically favored the peasants in their struggle to acquire land was the failure of agricultural investments to produce a profit comparable to the return from industrial and commercial investments. The low rate of return on landed investments led some of the bourgeoisie who had bought up parcels of national land to exchange their landed investments for government obligations or for corporate stocks.<sup>16</sup> Growing in-

<sup>13</sup> Roland Maspétiol, *L'Ordre éternel des champs* (Paris: Librairie de Médecis, 1946), 279.

<sup>14</sup> The *assignats*, paper money backed by the National land, were suppressed in 1797.

<sup>15</sup> Henri Sée, *La vie économique de la France sous la Monarchie Censitaire* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1927), 1-37.

<sup>16</sup> Henri Sée, *Histoire économique de la France*, p. 121.

dustrial and commercial corporations were producing appreciable profits. Peasants who had managed to set aside some cash were happy to oblige the bourgeois investors by taking over the less profitable landed investments.<sup>17</sup>

Another factor which worked in the favor of many peasants was the rise in the wages of laborers. The wage rise was caused by a shortage of hands due in part to conscription which took place between 1789 and 1815. The rise in wages of from one-fourth to one-third favored the part-time agricultural workers who also owned a small subsistence garden which provided most of their food. The wage rise permitted the peasant to save to buy another small parcel. Laborers who had no land at all were not so fortunate, as the rise in the price of food about equaled the rise in wages.<sup>18</sup>

In contrast to the 18th century, the first half of the 19th century was one of prosperity. The peasant's real income as well as his ability to accumulate capital improved slowly but steadily. There are a number of indications of this relative prosperity. The peasant wore shoes more often, he ate meat more often, he consumed more butter and eggs and in several other ways enjoyed more of the amenities of life.

The peasants received another windfall in the form of a rise in agricultural prices between 1820 and 1843. This increase in the farmer's buying power helped farmers who were already proprietors to buy more land. It was not any help to the renters, as agricultural rents were increased by as much or more than the rise in agricultural prices.

Technological developments which increased yields and reduced costs also began to appear during the first half of the 19th century. Superior managers used the new technology to improve their capital-accumulating and land-buying ability.

The exact division of land among various classes during the first half of the nineteenth century is not known, but there are some indications which make it possible to make a few generalizations. For one thing, large holdings were still of great importance. The sale of national lands caused the disappearance of ecclesiastical holdings, but it did not

completely eliminate noble property. Many estates of émigrés which had not been disposed of were returned to their former owners. Under the Directorate, the Consulate, and the Empire there were repurchases, retrocessions, and sometimes forfeitures by the purchasers which resulted in putting large estates back in the hands of the émigrés. The indemnity awarded to émigrés in 1825 also helped them to reacquire their former holdings. In the Department of the Cher, for example, the large noble holdings were maintained almost intact. Noble properties were also maintained to a large extent in Maine, Anjou, Vendée, and a part of the Loire-Inférieure.<sup>19</sup> In addition to the reconstitutions of noble property, the rich bourgeoisie established large holdings in a few areas. This was especially true in Normandy.

Medium sized holdings, belonging largely to the bourgeoisie were also numerous in this period.

Although the small peasant proprietors, most of whom had to supplement the product of their holdings by working as day laborers or *métayers* on a large estate, constituted a large class numerically, the area of their holdings was disproportionately small.

What statistical evidence we have shows a very slow rate of peasant acquisitions before 1825 and only a slight increase after that date.<sup>20</sup> In the 20 years from 1825 to 1845, the number of proprietors increased by 8 per cent while the population increased by 14 per cent. The opinion of the economic historian, H. Sée, is that at the beginning of the 19th century the peasants were beginning to occupy an appreciable portion of the soil of France, but that many of the holdings were not large enough to support their owners without supplemental sources of income.

*Economic and technological developments during the period 1800-1850 were slow and gradual, but they were also persistent and cumulative and so resulted in a significant increase in peasant proprietorship.*

<sup>17</sup> Maspétiol, p. 333.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>19</sup> Henri Sée, *La vie économique de la France sous la Monarchie Censitaire*, pp. 11-17.

<sup>20</sup> Maspétiol, p. 301.

#### TENURE AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS 1850 TO 1900

During the period from 1850 to 1900 the developments favourable to agriculture which began in the first half of the 19th century continued at an increased rate. Mechanization of farm activities,<sup>21</sup> higher prices for farm products, better wages for part-time, non-farm work, and stable money all contributed toward improving the peasant's economic position. Technical, commercial, social, and industrial development of the urban and national economies also contributed in various ways toward making farming more remunerative. The beginning of co-operative activity and the development of credit facilities were at the same time causes and results of the peasant's improving position. The peasant took advantage of these favorable developments to the full extent of his economic and psychological ability and indulged his passion for land ownership by purchasing additional parcels.

The policy of tariff protection which France undertook to follow with the passage of the Méline Tariff had a marked effect on agricultural development. The effect of the protection policy was to retard the developing trend toward international specialization and industrialization and to foster a diversified agricultural economy. One objective of the tariff was to guarantee the security of a large class of small landholders and make France less dependent on agricultural imports from other countries. The objectives were largely achieved. The severity of the depression of 1873-1896 was considerably mitigated by the preponderance of diversified agriculture.<sup>22</sup> The great economic dislocations and suffering of two World Wars would have been even more general and severe if French production had been more specialized and more dependent on international trade. The guaranteed price of wheat and the security which accompanied crop diversification helped the peasant to hang on to his land during the times of national crisis and so put him in a better position to buy additional parcels of land when prices were favorable.

#### TENURE AS REPORTED BY THE CENSUSES OF 1862 AND 1882

The census of 1862 gives the first oppor-

tunity to appraise the land ownership pattern in detail from a statistical point of view. It shows that the cumulative effect of all the changes which took place in the 73 years between 1789 and 1862 was to produce a land ownership pattern in which the ownership of at least a few parcels of land by the majority of peasants predominated.

The *enquête* (census) of 1862 showed that 72 per cent of the peasant family heads were proprietors of some amount of soil. Regional differences in the percentage of peasant proprietors were large, running from 95 per cent in the Hautes Alpes to 30 per cent in some other regions. These so-called peasant proprietors should not be confused with self-supporting economic units. Over half of the peasant proprietors did not hold enough land to permit them to gain a livelihood exclusively from it. Out of a total of 3,800,000 proprietors, 648,000 supplemented their own holding by renting some land, 203,000 by metayage and 1,134,000 augmented their own operations by working as day laborers on neighboring farms.

The census of 1882 gives additional and corroborative information about land ownership.

The breakdown of the 45 million hectares of private property reported in the 1882

TABLE 2  
Distribution of Land According to Census of 1882

	Area in Hectares <sup>m</sup>
State property	1,011,150*
State property	12,300**
Departmental property	6,150
Communal property	4,621,450
Public institutions, railroads, corporations	38,598
Religious and Charitable institutions and not defined	1,810,885
Private property	45,025,598

\*Largely forests. \*\*Diverse holdings.

<sup>m</sup> The rapid rate of mechanization is indicated by the following figures of machine ownership:

	1862	1892
threshing machines	100,733	234,380
mowing machines	9,442	38,753
reaping machines	8,907	23,432
seed drills	10,856	52,375

From Albert Dauzat, *La vie rurale en France*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946), 112.

<sup>m</sup> Dauzat, p. 111.

<sup>n</sup> One hectare equals 2.471 acres.

Census according to size of holding is confused by the definitions which were employed in gathering the statistics. The difference between an *exploitation* and a *property* was not the same in all cases. A 'domain' meant *exploitation* to some census takers and *property* to others. The inclusion of holdings of less than 1 ha. is also unrealistic. Most of these miniscule properties were actually gardens of suburb dwellers, the land around the villas of the Midi, and grounds around the larger, more pretentious dwellings of the wealthy class. However, with all these shortcomings, these statistics give us the best indication available of the size of exploitations.

TABLE 3

Numbers of Farms of Various Sizes According to Census of 1882

Size of Farm in Hectares	Percentage of Number	Percentage of Area
Less than 1	38	2
From 1 to 5	33	11
From 5 to 10	14	12
From 10 to 20	8	13
From 20 to 30	3	10
From 30 to 40	2	7
Over 40	2	45
	100	100

Actually a large number of the exploitations in the over 40 ha. class were not large. This was especially true when they contained some woodland, grazing land, or poor soil. Furthermore, not many of the "large" exploitations were over 100 ha. Of these less than 1,000 were larger than 400 ha.

The Census of 1882 provided statistics on tenure types which were slightly more accurate than those given in 1862. 80 per cent of the cultivators were owner-operators. Twenty per cent were renters and share-croppers. On the basis of area the *faire valoir direct* (owner-operators) accounted for 60 per cent of the area, renters for 27 per cent and share-croppers for 13 per cent.

In the Department of Sarthe, owner-operation and non-owner operations were equally numerous. In Seine-Inférieure and Mayenne there were more non-owner operators. The non-owners also predominated along the north and west coasts. In Midi and the East owner-operation was the general

rule. The Hérault led all other departments in the percentage of owner-operators with 97 per cent. The care of vines and wine production which predominated in this department required the long-run planning period of an owner-operator. The North, which was the model of good farming, had two-thirds owner-operators, one-third renters, and practically no share-croppers.

Although the number of large holdings appears small, an analysis of the methodology of the census of 1882 and other pertinent evidence leads to the conclusion that the large holdings were probably much more numerous than the statistics indicate.

The average size of farms in most of the departments was not far from the national average of 11 hectares. Seventy-two per cent of the departments had farms with an average size of five to 14 hectares. The single department which had an average size of one hectare serves as a reminder of the sharply downward bias of these statistics which include all agricultural exploitations. The department is the Seine, which is only a little larger than metropolitan Paris and contains less than 14,000 ha. of agricultural land. The department of the Alpes-Maritimes with an average of three has. per farm is another extreme case which distorts the over-all picture. Most of the agricultural exploitations are flower gardens (for perfume and cut flower markets), vineyards, and orchards. By eliminating from the statistics consideration of holdings of less than two hectares, the national average farm size jumps to 17.8 hectares. By considering only farms of more than five hectares the average rises to 23 has.

#### TENURE ACCORDING TO THE CENSUSES OF 1942 AND 1946

In 1946 everyone who had an agricultural exploitation<sup>24</sup> of one hectare or larger was asked to fill out a questionnaire concerning his exploitation. In spite of the fact that it was obligatory to fill out the questionnaires, a certain number of farmers neglected to respond. Most of those who did not answer were exploiters of very small holdings. This

<sup>24</sup> An *exploitation* refers to an operational farm unit. It is used in contradistinction to a *propriété*, a farm ownership unit.

TABLE 4  
Number, Area and Average Area of Agricultural Exploitation in France (excluding Alsace-Lorraine and Corsica)  
(*Enquete* of 1942)<sup>28</sup>

<i>Size of Farms (Hectares)</i>	<i>Number (1,000)</i>	<i>Total Area (1,000 ha.)</i>	<i>Average Area (ha.)</i>
Less than 1 ha.	220.6	105.9	.48
1-1.9	190.6	264.9	1.39
2-2.9	157.8	374.0	2.37
3-4.9	267.3	1,026.3	3.84
5-9.9	503.6	4,621.9	7.14
10-19.9	539.6	7,520.5	13.93
20-39.9	325.2	8,783.8	27.01
40-49.9	55.1	2,412.5	43.76
50-99.9	77.5	5,110.0	65.97
100-199.9	19.5	2,570.1	131.73
200-499.9	5.5	1,563.5	282.83
500 and over	1.1	1,111.9	1,007.12
Total	2,363.7	34,439.3	14.47

TABLE 5  
Types of Tenure by Numbers, Area, and Type of Labor<sup>29</sup>

	<i>Owner Operator</i>	<i>Fermeage</i>	<i>Métayage</i>	<i>Other and Non-declared</i>	<i>Total</i>
Number of exploitations					
Number (1,000)	1,366	544	138	44	2,092
Percentage	65.2	26.2	6.6	2	100
Area of exploitations					
Area (1,000)					
Hectares	16,837.5	10,479.5	3,269	645	31,230
Percentage	53.9	33.5	10.5	2.1	100
Number of permanent workers					
Number (1,000)	460	313.8	44.3	34.7	852.8
Percentage	53.9	36.8	5.2	4.1	100
Family labor					
Number (1,000)	1,323.6	534.8	199.5	7.9	2,066
Percentage	64.1	25.9	9.6	0.4	100

fact introduces a bias in the form of understatement of the numbers of the smallest holdings. There was also a tendency for farmers to understate slightly the hectareage of their farm. Owners of wood lots were not included in this count. In spite of these limitations, it is possible to arrive at fairly reliable figures concerning land tenure in the post World War II period by use of the report of this enumeration.

It was estimated that there were about 2,500,000 agricultural exploitations in France. There were a few less than 2,250,000 exploitations of one hectare or more. The figures given in the *enquete* of 1942 are as good as any available on the subject and show the pattern of distribution of land by size of farms.

In table 5 the proportion of owner-operators is slightly underestimated. This is because of the large number of this class which hold the minimum number of hectares and were reluctant to give exact information for fear that tax authorities would raise their taxes accordingly.

#### SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The development of family owned and operated farms in France was the result of three major factors—the Revolution that terminated feudal tenure, the peasants' persistence in striving for ownership, and national policies in support of agriculture. The Revo-

<sup>28</sup> *Revue du Ministère de L'Agriculture*, No. 56, March 1951, p. 59.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.



lution was important for two reasons. It changed the nature of property from the encumbered feudalistic concept to the marketable capitalistic concept. Secondly, it effected the transfer of large quantities of land from the clergy and nobility to those who were able to buy it—first, the bourgeoisie, then the peasants.

The peasant's single-minded determination to own the land he tilled and his persistence in pursuing that goal is one of the most notable facts of French history. This determination coupled with his resourcefulness and frugality enabled him to take advantage of every opportunity, every favorable land market or price situation to add to his patrimony parcel by parcel. Over a number of generations this persistence gradually resulted in rounding out his holdings to a hectareage sufficient to support a peasant family.

The national policies which provided a stable economy, stable money, price supports, tariff protection, and encouragement to co-operatives supplied the economic framework necessary for the peasant to achieve owner-operatorship of his land.

Generalizing from a single case is ever hazardous. However, a single case such as France that includes a varied complement of causal factors may provide a number of

relevant hypotheses useful in further study. Major hypotheses suggested by the French experience concern the responses of peasants to a changing political environment. When feudal land tenure institutions are terminated, peasants may find themselves in direct competition with investors and speculators in their attempts to acquire land. A carefully planned and supervised program would be required to successfully transfer land directly to farmers. Another hypothesis pregnant with implications is that, given a minimum favorable economic climate and the possibility of improvement, tenacious farmers will do their part in producing and saving to achieve ownership of their land.<sup>27</sup> The minimum favorable economic climate could have different compositions but apparently should include general stability in monetary and trade policy. Finally, it may be hypothesized from the French experience that within a capitalistic framework policies and programs designed to support agricultural prices, whatever their side effects, may be expected to facilitate achievement of the goal of family owned and operated farms.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Frederic O. Sargent, "The Persistence of Communal Tenure in French Agriculture", *Agricultural History*, XXXII, No. 2 (April 1958), 100-108.

### THE LIFE OF PLENTY

It is another of the comforts of the farmer's calling, that his labors are lighter than those of most other men. His work is not nearly as exhausting to body and mind, as that of the merchant, or of people who follow trades; the greater strength and vigor, and the better health of farmers, as a class, are proof positive. They have wholesome food, fresh milk and butter, fresh meats and vegetables, and eggs laid in the nest and upon the table the same day. They pursue their toils in the open air, and for the most part with only such a tax upon the muscles as aids digestion. There is no overworking of the brain, no wearing anxiety about the uncertainty of trade, no bank-notes to meet at two o'clock, or be bankrupt in fortune. His bank of earth receives all his deposits, and is always ready to pay dividends. Look at that bin of corn, yellow as gold, and always exchangeable for it. Look at those porkers with broad backs, and sleek sides, every one a walking money bag, and growing heavier every day. Look at those fat cattle, and that span of Black Hawks. There is a small mint in each of them, that keeps down all pecuniary solicitude—and makes the owner's life a scene of cheerful toil.

From *American Agriculturist*, Sept., 1861 (The excerpts from *American Agriculturist* were contributed by Louis Bernard Schmidt, Professor Emeritus of History, Iowa State University.)

## *The Sheffield Land Colony: Failure of a "Back to the Land" Scheme*

W. H. G. ARMYTAGE AND JOHN SALT

On June 13, 1848, Feargus O'Connor came to Sheffield. He was met by a brass band, and his route from the station was lined with banners. He told the large crowd assembled to hear him:

Every little editor, some of whom do not know whether potatoes are dug up ready roasted and buttered, or whether they grow upon trees, are all attacking my scheme. Mr. S. Crawford has seen the houses at Lowbands and was paralysed and astonished at not a weed to be seen on 150 acres of land. . . . Lee, the manager, said he would not take £400 for his four acres. . . . I have built 130 cottages in a ring fence and if Prince Albert had done the same he would have been lauded to the skies.

Among O'Connor's sponsors on this occasion was Isaac Ironside. He rode with O'Connor in the coach and urged him to cut up deer parks and race courses to provide employment for the population which the industrial revolution had displaced.<sup>1</sup>

A volatile and intelligent man, Ironside had graduated from being a stone-grate fitter to become a prosperous accountant. A promoter of the Sheffield Mechanics Institute, he sat on the Town Council as a chartist. In 1839, at the age of 31, he succeeded in founding the Sheffield Hall of Science, which was opened by Robert Owen in March of that year—the first building of its kind in the country. Ironside's enthusiasm for Owenism did not end with the Hall of Science. In 1839 he visited Manca Fen and persuaded the builder to migrate to Tytherly. In 1842 he considered taking an unsuccessful com-

munity in Sheffield under his wing when he took over the lease of one of the farms which made up the colony, and offered to sink his personal fortune to make it work.<sup>2</sup>

Ideas for "land colonies" were stirring in the town in 1843. Local distress, reflected in the collapse of the big local bank of Parker, Shore and Co., caused the trade unions to convene a public meeting on February 22 at a public house called "The London Apprentice." As a result, the 27 trades in the town formed a more comprehensive organization; and they instituted an inquiry into the causes of the distress. After studying the various plans suggested to them, they came to the conclusion that "spade husbandry was of the greatest importance." They hoped that, by siphoning off surplus labor to the land, they would save many thousands of pounds in unemployment relief. The report published on April 22 in the *Sheffield Iris* went on to say:

If, for instance, the table knife grinders, instead of spending £21,000 to keep their unemployed workmen in indolence had bought and expended it on land, which would have proved for them a comfortable subsistence, they might have been at this time in a flourishing condition, by being able to exercise an overwhelming influence on the demand and supply of their labour.

The spade salvation idea grew in popularity. On May 22, Ward (who had on March 6 proposed that the *Guardians* "adopt the principles and plans of poor colonies which have been so successful in Holland") quoted the *Northern Star* to prove that putting money in banks would merely stimulate manufacturers to glut the markets. One of Ironside's supporters recommended that each trades union should contribute a sum towards

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<sup>1</sup> *Sheffield Iris*, June 15, 1848. For Feargus O'Connor's land scheme see W. H. G. Armytage, "The Chartist Land Colonies 1846-1848," *Agricultural History* 32:87-96 (April, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> See W. H. G. Armytage, "Manca Fen: An Experiment in Agrarian Communitarianism," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 38:298 (Manchester, 1956).



the purchase of a farm where a practical farmer would superintend the cultivation. On July 29 the *Sheffield Iris* published the "Second Address to the Workmen of Sheffield," in which the idea was emphasized.

Ironside's effort on behalf of Tytherly, followed by O'Connor's enthusiasm, attracted the spade-salvationists for the next five years; O'Connor in fact gained 620 members in Sheffield, paying £839, and another 345, paying £557, in Barnsley.<sup>3</sup> So it was not until 1848, when O'Connor's ideas were losing their appeal, that the Sheffield unions took up the scheme again. Then the Edge-Tool Grinders acquired a farm of 68 acres at Wincobank "with a view to employing their surplus hands," and the File Hardeners a similar one elsewhere. The Britannia Metal Smiths chose April 1, 1848, for the ceremonial cutting of the first sod on an 11-acre farm at Gleadless Common Side, employing a manager and a dozen men, who supplied a shop which sold the produce at market prices. The employees were paid 14s a week with sixpence a week for each dependent child.<sup>4</sup>

Three fresh influences were brought to bear on Ironside early in 1848. The first was that of Frances Wright, for whom he arranged a series of lectures in Sheffield in February. The second was that of his closest friend, Thomas Briggs, for whom he took the chair at a Chartist meeting on March 20, where a scheme of allotments was proposed for keeping the price of food low. Briggs was the Sheffield delegate to the Chartist National Assembly in May and remarked, "with respect to those who spoke so loudly about guns and pikes and muskets, I think the best you can do is to take a spade. . . ." The third was the appalling conditions of the workers in the hand flour mills owned by the Board of Guardians, where unemployed workers were given occupation. Seven of them had revolted against this heart-breaking work, and appeared before the local magistrates on January 28, 1848, with Isaac Ironside as their spokesman. The men were let off with a caution.

On February 9, in the Town Council, Ironside demanded a full scale inquiry into the employment of able-bodied paupers in the

flour mills, describing his own unofficial visit to the mills. There he had found "about seventy men, wretched in appearance and the picture of ill-feeling and despair. . . . The men were not there for misconduct, but the system was grinding them into a most woe-ful state." He was defeated; but on March 10 the *Guardians* decided that, in view of its severe and unhealthy nature, working in the corn mills was to be reduced to four hours a day. Rooms for oakum-picking were taken, and in May, 1848, a workhouse farm of 48 acres of moorland was set up.

Moorland was chosen because land reclamation was regarded as the key factor of the scheme. A future profit was expected from the subletting of reclaimed land, although no hard and fast rules for this aspect of the scheme were laid down at the beginning. In any case, it would take several years to get the land into shape, although in 1850 there were vague proposals for subletting the land in three-acre plots to small-scale cultivators.<sup>5</sup>

A site was chosen at Hollow Meadows, at the head of the Rivelin Valley, seven miles from the centre of town. A certain amount of land reclamation was already taking place some three-quarters of a mile beyond the chosen spot and 1,100 feet above sea level.<sup>6</sup> This was the work of independent small-scale farmers who, since 1884, had leased land from the Duke of Norfolk and in some cases had built houses on the allotments brought into "a good state of cultivation."

To reclaim this land, it was argued, was a form of labor promising an economic return to the community without competing too obviously with free labor. The distance of the site from Sheffield was itself an advantage since it permitted refractory elements in the pauper population to be removed from the influence of "political agitators."<sup>7</sup>

Work on the site was begun in May, 1848, and on July 10 the foundation stone of the building on two acres of land leased at £2 per acre for 99 years was laid by Wilson

<sup>3</sup> *Sheffield Local Register*, p. 541.

<sup>4</sup> *Sheffield Times*, April 13, 27; August 19, 1848.

<sup>5</sup> *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (1850), 358.

<sup>6</sup> W. White, *Gazetteer and General Directory of Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1852), 399. The community came to be called, sarcastically, "New England."

<sup>7</sup> *Sheffield Times*, July 15, 1848, p. 2.

Overend, J. P., the chairman of the Board of Guardians.<sup>8</sup> In the remaining months of the year, work on the building, which utilized stone quarried on the actual site, was pushed on with vigor, a dining hall and dormitories being incorporated. On the land itself stone and vegetation clearing were followed by drain-making and spade husbandry. In the first year five acres were brought under crop, and in the second year, nine.

Life on the farm was strenuous but healthy. A list of regulations for the management of the farm was issued, stating that the men were to work "in moderation, but with diligence." There was to be "no time allowed, either in the forenoon or afternoon, for general resting or smoking." The men worked in groups of ten, each group headed by a pauper "overseer," who was paid an extra shilling weekly. Refractory or lazy paupers were made to walk to and from the Sheffield workhouse daily. Working hours were from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. daily, and the men were allowed one-half day per week to visit their families.<sup>9</sup>

By 1850 it was claimed that an average number of 45 men had been employed at the farm and "upwards of five hundred heads of families" accommodated there.<sup>10</sup> By 1854, despite the marked fall in the numbers of able-bodied paupers after 1849, 22 acres had been reclaimed and planted under root crops.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, it was claimed that in 1853 there was a clear surplus of £60, and the report declared that it was shown "beyond dispute that pauper labor can be made productive."<sup>12</sup>

"New England," as it was sarcastically called, was constantly attacked by opponents who sought to emphasize the experimental nature of the scheme, the high initial outlay, the delay in the publication of accounts, and the failure of the farm to show an immediate return.<sup>13</sup>

Ironside defended it vehemently. In December, 1849, he wrote a letter to the *Sheffield Times* against "the Money Bags" who looked for "direct pecuniary profit" from the experiment. He predicted it would ultimately show a profit to their "low, grovelling minds." In the meantime he stressed attention should be directed to the moral and

economic advantages of the scheme. His opponents, he declared, had said:

... not a word as to its being a healthy, rational and efficient labour test; not a word as to its indirect results in making better citizens in every respect of those who are submitted to its influence; not a word as to its preserving the lives of heads of families, thereby keeping the families from the parish; not a word as to its absorbing surplus labour in a manner that cannot injure a single rate-payer.

His vigorous championship led him to write to Baines, the Poor Law Commissioner, in September, 1950, suggesting that the Poor Law Board should circulate an official report on the experiment.<sup>14</sup> In August the *Athenaeum Magazine* had given an account of a paper read before the British Association by Dr. W. P. Alison, the Scots Poor Law Reformer, who had quoted the Sheffield scheme as a successful experiment.<sup>15</sup> In the same year also *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* reviewed a pamphlet by Alison and drew attention to "the interesting character of the Sheffield experiment," noting "a disposition to try similar experiments in other districts."<sup>16</sup>

Ironside insisted from the beginning that Hollow Meadows was a triumph for the community idea he had been championing since 1840. Within a week of the laying of the foundation stone he was claiming full credit for the scheme and sneering at the "practical men," who, after so long a period, were at last coming around to his way of thinking. He looked further and saw it as a pilot experiment for other schemes of a more ambitious nature, and in a letter printed by the *Sheffield Times* on December 15, 1849, he pointed out that the original project might be improved by the town acquiring freehold and more fertile land nearer its centre. All his speeches in support of the farm betrayed the fusion (or confusion) of Owenite and O'Connorite ideas that gave it birth.

Thornton Hunt, editor of *The Leader*, at-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, July 15, 1848, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> T. Winder, *T'Heft an' Blades o' Shevfield* (Sheffield, 1907), 13, 14.

<sup>10</sup> *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (1850), 357-358.

<sup>11</sup> *Sheffield Independent*, August 31, 1861, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Sheffield Times*, August 17, 1853, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, *Ibid.*, September 22, 1849, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> *Sheffield Times*, September 28, 1850, p. 3. The suggestion was not adopted, however.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, August 24, 1850, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, p. 257.

tended a public inspection of the farm in September, 1850, and heard Ironside enunciate, in true Owenite fashion, the changes in the character of the inmates produced even by such a limited experiment as Hollow Meadows:

The moral effects are of the greatest importance. . . . I know of some circumstances which have occurred at the farm—poor fellows who had constantly migrated from the workhouse to the house of correction and from the house of correction to the workhouse. But here is something humanizing and elevating—wholesome food, good air, good lodging, occupation and regularity, and it has been the making of them. This is the embodiment of the principle, 'he that will work not neither shall he eat.'<sup>17</sup>

Two years later, in August, 1852, at a meeting attended by Viscount Goderich of the Poor Law Association, Ironside, as an "old radical, chartist and socialist," mentioned his association with Robert Owen on the central board of an agrarian community in Hampshire and again raised the question of the social and educational objects of land projects. Referring to an objection to the Hollow Meadows scheme as competing with free labor, he said: "That's nothing to me. . . . *Have we produced a better population? If we have . . . take your money bags argument and throw it to the devil if you like!*"<sup>18</sup>

In the early 1850's improved economic conditions produced a waning interest in agrarian experiments, the Hollow Meadows scheme not excepted. For a period, Ironside, whose political fortune suffered from his preoccupation with the medieval constitutional ideas of Toulmin Smith, sought to maintain an indirect influence on the farm scheme by protecting the position of Watkinson, the Union Clerk, whose views on the running of the farm to some extent coincided with his own. In 1851 the Sheffield Democrat used his then not inconsiderable political power in an attempt to crush a group of Guardians, led by Philip Ashbury, who were conducting a bitter vendetta against Watkinson. But in spite of the individual election victories of what were termed "his socialist and infidel friends,"<sup>19</sup> Watkinson, farm manager, failed to survive an inquiry by the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner into alleged "irregularity and laxity"

in the management of Hollow Meadows, the results of which were made public in May, 1851.<sup>20</sup>

Watkinson's dismissal solved the problem as to whether pauper labor at Hollow Meadows was to be devoted to land reclamation (all the reclaimed land being sublet to private farmers), or whether a certain amount of "high farming" was to be taken up by the Union.<sup>21</sup> The first would restrict the scope of the scheme since it meant that only able-bodied paupers could be employed at the farm, land reclamation being very heavy work. The latter implied that the farm might become to some extent a self-supporting model community. Ironside clearly had this in mind when in 1852 he suggested that the whole workhouse should be transferred to the farm site. But the damage had already been done.

Final defeat came in 1854. In April of that year Watkinson was dismissed from his remaining offices, and on August 16 the Board of Guardians declared that they did not "intend to further any plan of amateur farming, but strongly inclined to lease from time to time such portions of land as may be brought into a state fit for the energies of the private farmer." In a last despairing effort Ironside had attempted at the July meeting of the Sheffield Town Council to persuade its members to request the Duke of Norfolk to refuse to consent to any large-scale lettings, which, in Ironside's opinion, violated "the principles adopted in the leasing of the farm." By 1861, however, over 50 acres had been reclaimed and let at 25s per acre.

Ironside's failure to prevent the subletting of reclaimed land marked, to all intents and purposes, the end of his influence on the Hollow Meadows experiment. The energetic role he had played in the early years meant, it is true, that his name was popularly associated with that of the farm for the rest of his life. Indeed, as late as 1869 Ironside felt compelled to sue the *Sheffield Independent*

<sup>17</sup> *The Leader*, October, 1850.

<sup>18</sup> *Sheffield Times*, August 21, 1852, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1851, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, May 24, 1851, p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, September 28, 1850, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> *Sheffield Independent*, August 31, 1861, p. 6.

for publishing a letter from "A Sheffield Man," who jokingly suggested that the erstwhile Socialist wished to establish an "Agapemone" at Hollow Meadows.<sup>23</sup> But the original experiment was never developed, as Ironside would have wished, on a large scale community basis. Nor does it appear to have stimulated any contemporary imitations. It ended a year later when the buildings were taken over by the newly created Sheffield

School Board as an industrial school for its problem pupils.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, April 6, 1869, p. 6. Ironside was referred to in the letter as a "well-known eccentric individual." In 1868 he had tried to acquire some reclaimed land at Hollow Meadows to extend a perfectly orthodox farm of which he had become the landlord. Under cross-examination he admitted that he had been "to some extent" a disciple of Robert Owen, and that he had been a member of a society in Manchester called the Universal Brotherhood. The jury gave verdict for the defendants without even hearing the judge's summing-up.

### PERSONAL CHARACTER AND EXPECTATIONS OF A PROFESSIONAL FARMER

To casualties and accidents no business is so much exposed as farming; and therefore, to enjoy an ordinary degree of happiness, Professor Thaer considers it essential that the farmer possess a certain tranquility of mind. This, he says, may either be the result of a naturally phlegmatic habit of body, or of elevated views in religion or philosophy. These will enable him to bear with every misfortune arising from adverse seasons, or the death of live stock; and only permit him to regret accidents which result from his own neglect.

The expectations of profit and happiness which a young farmer has formed ought to be well weighed against the profits and happiness of farmers in general. However superior a farmer may consider his own talents and abilities, he may rest assured there are a number as skilful and adroit as himself, and just as likely to realise extraordinary advantages. Let none therefore engage in farming, thinking to make more money than other farmers similarly circumstanced with himself. If from a happy concurrence of circumstances he is more than usually successful, so much the better, and let him consider it as partly owing to good fortune as well as good farming; but never let him set out on the supposition of gaining extraordinary advantages with only ordinary means.

The profits of farming are much exaggerated by people in general; but it may be asserted as an unquestionable fact, that no capital affords less profit than that employed in farming, except that sunk in landed property. This is the natural result both of the universality of the business and of its nature. Farming is every where practised, and every one thinks he may easily become a farmer; hence high rents, which necessarily lessen the profits on capital. From the nature of farming, the capital employed is returned seldom. Suppose he succeeds in raising the best possible crops in his given circumstances, still his profits have an absolute limit; for if an ordinary crop be as five, and the best that can be grown be as seven, all that the most fortunate concurrence of circumstances will give is not great, and is easily foreseen. It is hardly possible for a farmer, paying the market price for his land, to make much more than a living for himself and family. Those few who have exceeded this, will be found to have had leases at low rents; indulgent landlords; to have profited by accidental rises in the market, or depreciation of currency; or to have become dealers in corn and cattle; and rarely indeed to have realised any thing considerable by mere good culture of a farm at the market price. Very different is the case of a tradesman, who, with the properties which we have mentioned as requisite for a good farmer, seldom fails of realising an independency.

Many persons, chagrined with a city life, or tired of their profession, fancy they will find profit and happiness by retiring to the country and commencing farming. Independently of the pecuniary losses attending such a change, none is more certain of being attended with disappointment to the generality of men. The activity required, and the privations that must be endured, are too painful to be submitted to; whilst the dull uniformity of a farmer's life to one accustomed to the bustle of cities, becomes intolerable to such as do not find resources in their fire-sides, their own minds, or, as Professor Thaer observes, in the study of nature. *Loudon's Encyclopedia of Agriculture* (London, 1831)

# Goyder's Line of Rainfall: The Role of a Geographic Concept In South Australian Land Policy and Agricultural Settlement

DONALD W. MEINIG

For nearly eighty years most official maps of South Australia have shown a bold curving line cutting across the southern portion of the state and labeled "Goyder's Line of Rainfall," or merely "Goyder's Line." Many a man has left his name upon our maps, but while it is commonplace that a myriad of visible discrete features are specified by personal names, it is rare to find a qualitative, geographic concept so identified and displayed. That "Goyder's Line" should be a so prominent and persistent cartographical feature suggests a singularly important local concept. That it should be so titled suggests a singularly important man.

The origin of the Line stemmed directly from a type of crisis which was to be a chronically recurring hazard. In 1864 and 1865 South Australia experienced an unusually severe drought. Pastoralists north and east of Port Augusta suffered heavy losses of sheep and cattle and desperately sought some sort of relief. As they occupied their runs under Crown leases, some liberalization which would give them hope of recovering their losses under long-term security of tenure seemed an appropriate form of legislative succor. Accordingly, a parliamentary commission of inquiry on "The State of the Northern Runs" was formed, and in November, 1865, the Surveyor-General, G. W. Goyder, was instructed to:

... proceed to the North for the purpose of obtaining such information, by your own personal observations, as may enable you to determine and lay down on the map, as nearly as practicable, the line of demarcation between that portion of the country where the rainfall has extended, and that where the drought prevails.<sup>1</sup>

The drought had so markedly affected the vegetation that the demarcation he sought was "palpable to the eye from the nature of the country itself."<sup>2</sup> Even in late spring the stricken landscape lay parched and withered in vivid contrast to the greenness and freshness further south. The position of the line lay "considerably further south" than he had anticipated. Starting near the base of Yorke Peninsula, it curved northward into the southern Flinders Range, undulated in a second loop around the Pekina Hills, and thence sharply southward, paralleling the eastern margin of the Mt. Lofty uplands (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

After considerable inquiry and debate some ameliorative legislation on pastoral rents and tenures was passed which allowed special provisions for areas beyond Goyder's line.<sup>4</sup> Had this been the only application, Goyder's demarcation might have faded into obscurity. But even while the inquiry was underway, some pondered whether it might not have a greater significance. South Australia had been founded as a model agricultural colony. At this time, in the mid 1860's, the agricultural frontier was relatively stagnant in the hill country some sixty or seventy miles south of the northerly loops of the Line (fig. 1), but means of stimulating further colonization and the potentiality of the pastoral lands for farming were matters of persistent interest. The commission of inquiry, incidental to its main purpose, gave the question some attention.

<sup>1</sup> *Parliamentary Papers (South Australia) 1865-6*, No. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 78, "Surveyor-General's Report on Demarcation of Northern Rainfall;" No. 82, "Report of Surveyor-General on Northern Runs;" No. 154, "Map of Northern Runs." F. J. R. O'Brien, "Goyder's Line," M. A. thesis, Department of History, University of Adelaide, documents Goyder's knowledge of the area before this time and traces the routes of his reconnaissance.

<sup>3</sup> The relationship of the line to the rather complex local physiography can best be examined with the use of Charles Fenner, *South Australia: A Geographical Study* (Melbourne and Sydney, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> S. H. Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement (1788-1920)*, (Melbourne, 1924), pp. 254-255.

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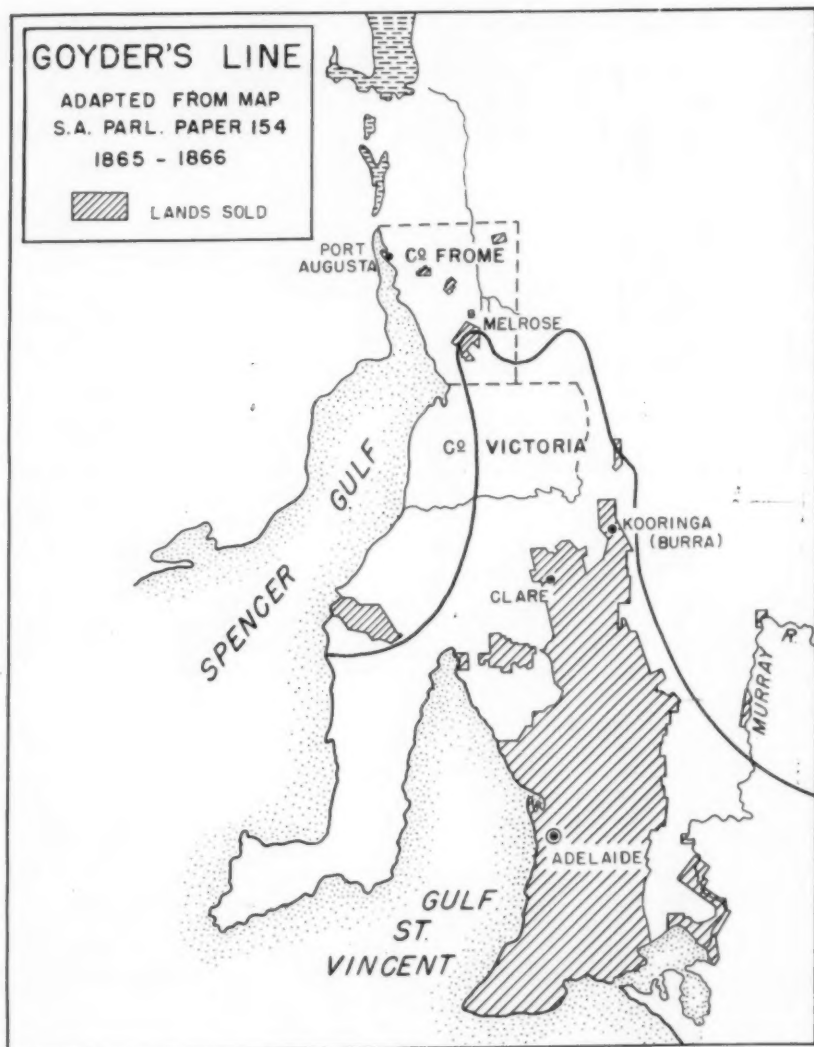


FIGURE 1

Thus Goyder, invited to testify before a session, was asked whether his "rainfall line" might be regarded as separating the pastoral from the potential agricultural districts. "It does to a certain extent," he replied, "but there is some portion of the country where, although the soil is eminently adapted for tillage, and will grow anything, the peculiar position of it, and its openness to hot winds, render it such as can only be safely continued

as pastoral land. That is inside the line—and outside it, the whole of the land is only fit for pastoral purposes; that is as far as we know of growing cereals at present."<sup>5</sup>

Actually, the question was more pertinent than it appeared to be within the body of re-

<sup>5</sup> *Parliamentary Papers (South Australia) 1867*, No. 14, p. 113. The commission had already concluded on the basis of its own inspection and inquiry that the land north of Port Augusta was unfit for cereal cultivation; *ibid.*, 1865-6, No. 57, p. 4.

ports issued on pastoral conditions. Dissatisfaction with the restrictive methods of land disposal had been growing for a number of years. Still influenced by Wakefield's theories, land was sold only in selected areas and only by cash auction.<sup>6</sup> But stagnating colonization and the sudden competition of neighboring Victoria, where the fertile Wimmera district was opened under more liberal policies, brought implacable pressure for change. Out of a morass of controversy a new law, popularly known as Strangways Act, was put into effect in 1869. The principal departure from older practice was the sale of land on credit. True to her heritage, however, this provision was to be applicable only within specially designated "Agricultural Areas." Such districts were to be carefully selected so as to contain "good agricultural land" and to be subdivided into farm units of not more than 320 acres.<sup>7</sup> Outside these areas land was still available only by cash purchase, but, in anticipation of the "credit lands" becoming a major stimulus to settlement, a considerable belt of country was to be surveyed and offered.

As Surveyor-General and a man of wide experience and prestige, Goyder was to have a major influence in determining the patterns of this fresh agricultural frontier. Furthermore, he was keenly concerned about the necessity for a rational controlled program of land settlement. To him the really important matter was not one of costs and credits but rather the necessity of regulating the encroachment of agriculturists into the pastoral domain. He was highly critical of the new laws in Victoria which allowed a selector to take up land anywhere. In practice this encouraged speculators to seize control of fertile spots and water supplies ("picking the eyes out of the country"), ruining the utility of surrounding pastoral lands without advancing agriculture. To avoid these abuses he strongly recommended a qualitative assessment of the lands of the colony. "It appears infinitely preferable," he stated, "to divide the whole country" into those areas adapted for farming and those suitable only for pasture. Further, he argued that "in South Australia nature has clearly established a line of demarcation beyond which permanency of tenure may be given to the pastoral tenant without detriment to the agriculturists."<sup>8</sup> Such a statement

implied what his actions were soon to confirm: that Goyder was now ready to support his "line of rainfall" as "nature's demarcation" of the limits of potential agricultural land.

In South Australia the farming frontier expanded within the framework of land survey units known as "hundreds,"<sup>9</sup> which embraced also the special Agricultural Areas (credit lands). Together these two patterns shaped the geography of the frontier: the hundreds setting the limits; the Agricultural Areas enclosing the smaller districts of greatest attraction. The most vigorous expansion was northward following the belt of hilly, somewhat more humid country. An examination of the map of that sector reveals that Goyder, who was in charge of selecting lands for these surveys, obviously had designed the outer margin of the hundreds to give a rectangular approximation of his curving "line of rainfall" (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup>

This *de facto* application of Goyder's qualitative concept was soon to be made explicit. The original credit act did stimulate considerable agricultural colonization, enough at least to arouse increasing criticism against the idea of segregated agricultural areas. The restriction of credit purchases to these limited fragments was viewed as discriminatory. Since even these credit lands were still sold only on auction, competition sent prices soaring, and, thus, though they were obtained with a smaller initial cash outlay than other lands, the total eventual cost became greater. The

<sup>6</sup> A thorough analysis of the land problem and economic development during the first two decades of settlement is in Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857* (Melbourne, 1957), especially chapters 13 and 14.

<sup>7</sup> "The Waste Lands Amendment Act, 1868-9," *Acts of Parliament (South Australia)* No. 14, 1868-69.

<sup>8</sup> G. W. Goyder, "Report on Victoria Land Regulations," *Parliamentary Papers (South Australia)* 1870-71, No. 23, pp. 6-8.

<sup>9</sup> The hundred was a generally rectangular block of approximately 100 square miles which was further subdivided into farm and township lots of varying size and layout.

<sup>10</sup> The shape of Goyder's Line in figure 2 differs slightly from the original, but this is only a reflection of a more accurate base map; it still follows the same landmarks. The obvious anomaly of the hundred projecting well northward of the western loop of Goyder's Line does not contradict the inference made, for this is the Hundred of Gregory, surveyed as an isolated unit years before at the request of an abortive copper mining venture. The dates of survey and proclamation of hundreds and Agricultural Areas are derived from the master lists filed in the Office of the Surveyor-General, Adelaide.

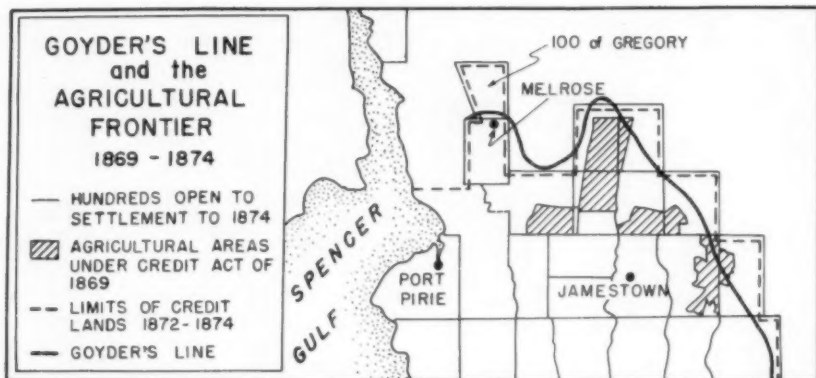


FIGURE 2

very objective of liberalization thus seemed defeated. Pressures for change quickly intensified, and in July, 1872, a new act abolished the Agricultural Areas and opened the entire agricultural frontier to credit sales. But what was the agricultural frontier? The Commissioner of Crown Lands, in presenting the proposed bill, defined it succinctly: "all the land south of . . . the boundary known as Goyder's Rainfall, as limited by certain hundreds and counties."<sup>11</sup> The explicit demarcation spelled out in the act followed exactly the outer margins of the block of hundreds surveyed under Goyder's direction prior to 1872 (fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> With this, the agricultural significance of Goyder's Line was transformed from a very personal concept, defined, applied, and advocated by an influential individual, into an explicit official doctrine backed by the vote of Parliament. For the moment both Goyder's insistence upon a firm agricultural-pastoral boundary and his own specific qualitative assessment of land potential had been accepted.

Even prior to this moment, however, there was some evidence that opposition to such a limitation might develop. The editor of *The Northern Argus* in the old frontier town of Clare became a vigorous self-appointed spokesman and interpreter of the new farming realm being opened. The harvest from these fresh lands in 1871 was impressive, and he saw therein an important implication:

Some of the heaviest crops have been gathered on the border lands where the agricultural and squatting [pastoral] elements have been brought into

collision. Lands which a few years back were looked upon as the undisputed dominions of the squatters are now occupied by flourishing farmers. This kind of thing will no doubt continue, and in a few years' time agricultural settlement will be pushed considerably beyond its present limit. Goyder may draw his imaginary line of rainfall, beyond which, in his opinion, it would be unwise for the agriculturist to go, but so long as experience shows that a profitable crop of wheat can be grown, the cultivator will not hesitate to advance beyond.<sup>13</sup>

Apparently this was uncommon foresight, for in the debates in Parliament on the bill of 1872 no specific opposition was voiced to the use of Goyder's Line as the agricultural limit. But, ironically, the very success of the new law soon brought it into disrepute. Opening of the entire area to credit purchase and the immediate success of wheat farming all along the frontier brought a real surge of colonists (primarily from the older districts rather than new immigrants). As the competition for fresh land intensified, the search was soon extended to the defined boundary, and very quickly Goyder's Line was transformed from a reasonable, logical limit into an illogical, galling restriction.

<sup>11</sup> *Parliamentary Debates (South Australia)*, April 25, 1872, col. 659; "Waste Lands Regulations, 1872-Agricultural," *Parliamentary Papers (South Australia)* 1872, No. 173. The new act reduced the down payment from 20 percent to 10 percent, extended the payment schedule from four to six years, and contained a more strict cultivation requirement.

<sup>12</sup> Goyder's Line was applied only along the north and east. On the west, inland from Spencer Gulf, colonization was slowed by the dense scrub, there was less pressure for land, and the need for an agricultural-pastoral boundary was not serious.

<sup>13</sup> *The Northern Argus* (Clare), Feb. 3, 1871.

The Clare editor began a real campaign against Mr. Goyder's "imaginary line,"<sup>14</sup> and others quickly joined in. "Goyder's line of rainfall was all nonsense," insisted a speaker at a meeting at Blyth Plains; at Melrose a public meeting was convened "for the purpose of getting Goyder's line of rainfall shifted to about 40 miles north of its present position" in order to open up the fine lands of Beautiful Valley. At a Laura gathering the proposal was less modest: "That Mr. Goyder's rainfall [line] be shifted out of the colony."<sup>15</sup> The very idea of a "line" of rainfall seemed open to ridicule:

I came into a store at Pekina, on the other side of the "rainfall," on Tuesday, May 4, about 9 o'clock in the forenoon, wet to the skin, and it rained steady all that day and night and part of the next day, and I defy Mr. Goyder or any other man to say at which side of the hedge the most rain fell.<sup>16</sup>

Once the public clamour had reached a sufficient level, the government was quite ready to respond, and by mid-winter, 1874, yet another land bill was presented for debate. Goyder's Line was the whole issue. The Chief Secretary, in introducing the bill, took pains to point out that the demarcation had originally been established solely as a device for evaluating certain pastoral problems and "not for the purpose of agricultural settlement." Its use in the act of 1872 was defended, for it had then seemed that it "might be fairly taken as the limit of agricultural land," and further it was thought to enclose an area sufficiently large to satisfy the need. But now, quite the contrary, it was an "exceedingly crippling" barrier, and it had become obvious "how unsuited this line of rainfall had been for determining what land was fit for agricultural purposes." Moreover, the government was prepared to abandon the whole idea of setting any limit on agricultural colonization and to "let the people select the land which they considered would be suitable for their purposes."<sup>17</sup>

Spokesmen for the pastoral interest insisted that some limit must be maintained to avert ruin for the whole pastoral business, and the dichotomy of economic interests was so sharp that the agriculturists attacked Goyder's Line as a calculated device of their opponents: "Break through Goyder's boundary, the most absurd thing known in squatter ingenuity."<sup>18</sup>

While the debate was underway, Goyder was requested to report upon the quantity and character of lands available for agriculture. Despite the public fervor he steadfastly maintained his earlier position:

Beyond the limit of the First Schedule [defining his line, act of 1872], from Melrose northward and north-easterly, the land, except in the ranges, is mostly good agricultural soil; its extent is very great, but the rainfall, hitherto, has not been reliable—the result of farming operations is therefore doubtful.<sup>19</sup>

But Goyder's opinion no longer carried any weight with the agriculturists, and, as the debate wore on, even the government spokesmen turned to ridicule. By November the Chief Secretary was speaking impatiently of "Goyder's absurd line of rainfall" and pointedly reiterating that it was "a line prepared for another object, and not having anything to do with the matter under present circumstances."<sup>20</sup> On the following day the new land act was passed, opening the whole of South Australia to credit selection of farm blocks.<sup>21</sup>

Having now almost completely jettisoned the whole tradition of careful land planning, South Australia entered its greatest period of colonization.<sup>22</sup> Surveyors blocked out a million acres for farm selection in 1876 and still fell behind the demand. Ten million bushels of wheat in 1875-1876 was a new pinnacle of success, and even a much poorer crop the following harvest could not dampen enthusiasm for continued expansion. In January, 1877, six new counties were marked off, reaching deep into the pastoral outback over a hundred miles beyond the most northerly

<sup>14</sup> e.g., *The Northern Argus* (Clare), May 16, August 29, 1873; Feb. 13, May 22, 1874.

<sup>15</sup> *The Northern Argus* (Clare), June 20, 1873; *The Farmers' Weekly Messenger* (Kapunda), April 24, 1874; *The Northern Argus* (Clare), June 2, 1874.

<sup>16</sup> *The Farmers' Weekly Messenger* (Kapunda), May 22, 1874.

<sup>17</sup> *Parliamentary Debates* (South Australia), July 14, 1874, cols. 905-906.

<sup>18</sup> *The Farmers' Weekly Messenger* (Kapunda), May 22, 1874.

<sup>19</sup> G. W. Goyder, "Survey of Crown Lands" (August, 1874), *Parliamentary Papers* (South Australia) 1874, No. 239.

<sup>20</sup> *Parliamentary Debates* (South Australia), Nov. 5, 1874, col. 2235.

<sup>21</sup> *Acts of Parliament* (South Australia) 1874, No. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Governmental control over the location and design of townships was the principal carry-over from the earlier theories and practices. On the several phases of South Australian colonization see Fenner, *South Australia: A Geographical Study*, chapters 10 and 13.

point of Goyder's Line. That old "barrier" was now thoroughly discredited; indeed the whole concept of any rigid "nature's" limit was being replaced by the idea that man's actions could and/or were overcoming nature's deficiencies. The idea that "the rain follows the plough" now enjoyed wide popular favor; the idea that tree planting could produce a major direct increase in rainfall now claimed very influential scientific support. In the face of the fervant optimism of the times, Goyder's perseverance in his views is all the more remarkable. He steadfastly insisted that these new frontier lands ought to be tested thoroughly by careful governmental experimentation before being offered to farmers. One such test location was established under his direction at Mannahill, far out on the saltbush plains to the northeast, half-way to the New South Wales border.<sup>23</sup>

But along the main frontier in the north the farmers surged forward, willing to do their own experimentation, fully confident of success. Goyder had only to recall his surveys of that very country a decade earlier to predict their failure, and he did so as vividly as he knew how:

During the last twenty years I have crossed and recrossed the country in question during all seasons of the year, and have seen the surface in good seasons like a hayfield, teeming with rich, rank, and luxurious vegetation; and during drought destitute of grass and herbage, the surface soil dried by the intense heat, in places broken and pulverized by the passage of stock, and formed by the action of the wind into miniature hummocks, surrounding the closely-cropped stumps of salt bushes, etc., and the soil blown away in places to a depth of several inches, the drift covering the fences of yards, troughs, etc., and so denuded of feed as to be altogether useless for stock of any description. Had the soil been ploughed at that time the whole of the depth of the furrow must inevitably have blown away.<sup>24</sup>

This was to become a famous statement, but for the moment it only strengthened the conviction among many that Goyder was merely a spokesman for the pastoralists who were desperately seeking to block agricultural expansion. As Surveyor-General he had to carry out the government's policy of marking out a huge northern interior realm for farming advance, but he obviously had no enthusiasm for the task. As each Hundred was opened for sale, the proclamation commonly included a concise description of the character

of the land, and here Goyder persistently appended his own refrain: "rainfall unreliable."

For the colony as a whole the harvest of 1879, with a record 14 million bushels of wheat, was a satisfying measure of a decade of wonderful agricultural progress. South Australia's leadership seemed secure, and the prospects for continued economic expansion appeared wholly favorable. This general optimism obscured the fact that in many localities along the northern margin of settlement the harvest had been very poor and in some areas a failure. Yet colonization continued unabated. The autumn rains of 1880 were favorable and much new land was seeded; the winter, however, was very dry over much of the colony, and by November it was obvious that the wheat crop along the entire northern frontier was nearly a complete failure. Harvests of one or two bushels per acre were reported all along the outer margin—with the desperate need for seed the only reason for harvesting at all. Nearly the entire area colonized since 1874 reaped less than five bushels per acre.<sup>25</sup> Even so severe a setback was insufficient to halt completely the expansion of settlement, although a general slackening was evident. But when the following year proved even worse, and 1882-1883 poorer still with a total harvest of but half that of 1879-1880 and an average yield for the entire colony of just over four bushels per acre, the great land rush to the North, which had accelerated with each year for more than a decade, was over.

As the drought once more spread its searing touch over the land, it was all too clear that the rain had not followed the plough; the very trees planted to help insure an adequate rainfall had withered and died; and Goyder's Line, "that buried demon of settlement," was

<sup>23</sup> *The Farmer's Weekly Messenger* (Adelaide), April 27, 1877.

<sup>24</sup> G. W. Goyder, "Correspondence Concerning Annual Leases," *Parliamentary Papers (South Australia)* 1876, No. 145, Letter of July 11, 1876, p. 2. This statement infers what Goyder made explicit on other occasions, that he did not believe that the rain followed the plough. Goyder was also chairman of the Forest Board established at this time, and although he favored the idea of tree plantations, he did not think, as many did, that these would have a significant effect upon rainfall.

<sup>25</sup> Based on average yields for each hundred. Detailed statistics of agricultural conditions in each hundred during the late 1870's and early 1880's were published in *Parliamentary Papers (South Australia)*, No. 76 (1883-1884).



almost automatically resurrected, clothed with new meaning and prestige. Such dramatic confirmation of his ideas must have given Goyder some personal satisfaction, but if so, he gave no public expression of it. Indeed, he could now conveniently remain quite silent on the matter, for a host of spokesmen were all too ready to recall his warnings to the public and to engage in recriminatory argument as to responsibility for ignoring them. Country editors in the stricken districts were prone to blame the government for not holding to Goyder's Line; government spokesmen insisted that the farmers had only themselves to blame, for it was their pressure which had forced its removal. There was some distortion in both views; these very country newspapers had in many cases been the most shrill disparagers of Goyder's ideas, while many a politician was only too anxious to bend with popular opinion, to gloat over mounting public revenues from the sale of Crown lands, and, perhaps, to pocket the proceeds from his own speculations.<sup>26</sup>

Wherever the blame might properly rest, the principal issue was what to do for the farmers. Even those who had not yet reaped a crop were in many cases anxious to hang on, hoping for a break in the drought, in order to recover something on their investment. Most had purchased on credit, and the most obvious means of legislative relief was in some way to modify interest and principal payment amounts and schedules. In June, 1882, the government offered a bill containing various measures of relief, but with an explicit geographical application: farmers north of Goyder's Line were to be allowed a greater measure of relief than those south.<sup>27</sup> Such geographical discrimination proved politically unacceptable. Proponents cited detailed figures on wheat yields in adjacent hundreds north and south of the line to prove the accuracy of the demarcation, but there were inevitably scattered instances which did not fit the pattern. In the law as finally enacted the amount of relief was apportioned according to the actual yields a farmer had received rather than to specific localities.<sup>28</sup> But the basic significance of Goyder's Line was now widely recognized. Even the most vociferous boosters of the Northern areas agreed that it marked the limit of reliable wheat country, and, though unwilling to condemn the lands

beyond, they admitted that conditions there were different and that special laws and methods of agriculture would be necessary.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, the concept and nature of a belt of "marginal lands" began to emerge. The bold imprint of Goyder's Line now became standard on the official maps, marking the threshold of those lands, and thereby became the base line of agricultural assessment. Sale prices, rents, taxes, and loans were commonly calculated at least in part upon the position of a piece of land relative to that boundary.<sup>30</sup>

In that frontier belt there now began a long period of adjustment. Many selectors abandoned their lands. Some, with the aid of further legislation, were able to convert and extend their holdings into pastoral leases. Other attempted some combination of wheat and sheep production. For all it was a harsh process, and the social and economic costs were debilitating for individuals and colony alike. Even more serious was the actual destruction, or at least deterioration, of the basic land resources. Land ploughed and abandoned lay open to severe wind and water erosion. Useless scrub and bramble and weeds replaced the grass and saltbush over broad sections. Just as Goyder had feared, over-optimistic agriculturists had converted good sheep runs into wastelands.

Since later experiences and studies have confirmed, in general, the reliability of Goyder's views,<sup>31</sup> there is a strong temptation to emphasize the folly of pioneers and politicians who did not have the good sense to heed the advice of a wise man. In America the lament over "the plow that broke the plains" is a

<sup>26</sup> e.g., *Port Augusta Dispatch*, Dec. 30, 1881, Feb. 3, 1882; *The Garden and the Field* (Adelaide), April, 1882, pp. 160-161.

<sup>27</sup> *Parliamentary Debates* (South Australia), June 22, 1882, col. 165.

<sup>28</sup> *Acts of Parliament* (South Australia) 1882, No. 275. The apportioned relief related to remission of annual interest on credit purchases. Other provisions allowed surrender and reselection, either of the same land at a lower price, or different land in a more favorable area. In either case the original down payment and value of improvements were applied to the new selection.

<sup>29</sup> e.g., *Port Augusta Dispatch*, December 30, 1881, August 26, 1882.

<sup>30</sup> O'Brien, "Goyder's Line," describes how the prestige of the Line was so great that it became an obstacle to plans for colonization of the Murray Mallee several decades later, despite the fact that in that sector of the map the Line was little more than a bit of cartographic symmetry, a sweeping extension of the general trend of the line rather than a demarcation established by careful reconnaissance.

well-known theme, and in Australia there has been more than a murmur of the same refrain. But too often such criticism in either nation ignores the historical and geographical context of these movements to extend the agricultural frontier.

The settlement of the more humid margins of the broad grasslands and scrublands in both Australia and America was initiated in the face of much doubt that such country was suitable for crops. The success of colonization dispelled such fears for the immediate locality, but as the pioneers pushed farther into these areas, they encountered increasingly drier country. At any point in time and place there were always many persons who felt that surely the feasible limit had been reached. Yet within a few years the frontier would be advanced still well beyond, confounding the pessimists and bolstering the confidence of the optimists. In South Australia this process had operated from the very beginning of colonization. By the 1870's there had been a long precedent of erroneous judgments about the limits of agricultural land, and this was the most telling argument against Goyder's Line in 1874. Almost invariably cited by proponents of expansion, this argument was succinctly phrased by one group of farmer-petitioners as follows:

... the question of the suitability or otherwise of this land for agriculture should not rest on the dictum of one individual; it being notorious that much of the land now under culture and growing good crops, has been formerly pronounced totally unsuitable for that purpose by people apparently well qualified to form an opinion.<sup>31</sup>

That South Australia proved willing to rely upon the trials of the pioneers themselves rather than upon the judgment of an "apparently well-qualified" individual is especially significant, for this colony had a unique heritage of unusually comprehensive land planning which governed the whole character, pace, and direction of settlement. The administrative application of Goyder's Line was wholly in keeping with that heritage; its abandonment was a conscious, radical reversal of practice. But that decision was not merely an expression of "frontier democracy," nor was it at all the result of a reckless *laissez-faire* attitude blind or indifferent to inevitable consequences. Rather, the decision to rely upon mass empirical testing of the land was

the acceptance of what experience had so far proved to be the most reliable guide. Goyder's view was not that of "science." At the same time other men of greater scientific reputation in the colony were attempting to explain how the climate was being "improved" by cultivation and tree planting. In simple fact, both scientists and farmers were pioneers in a new kind of country of which neither had as yet accumulated sufficient knowledge for accurate judgment.<sup>32</sup> The sheer pressure for land was a further factor in the lack of popular support for Goyder's plea for a cessation of colonization until government tests proved the suitability of the land for wheat. There was simply little reason to transfer confidence from folk-process to scientific experiment.

To assume this perspective in no way diminishes the stature of G. W. Goyder. To point out that opposition to his views was not based on sheer ignorance or cupidity is not to deny his remarkable perception and steadfastness. His whole perspective upon the colonization movement, its proper objectives, methods, and problems was singularly broad and incisive. That his ideas did not prevail at a critical period is not merely to be deplored but to give us further insight into the great folk movement of which that phase of South Australian history was but a part.

<sup>31</sup> "Even today his 'line of rainfall' appears on most official maps of South Australia," A. R. Callaghan and A. J. Millington, *The Wheat Industry in Australia* (Sydney, 1956), p. 37. "Map of South Australia Showing the Principal Land Utilization Zones, June 1959," compiled in the Drawing Office of the Department of Lands under the direction of the Surveyor-General, for a prominent depiction of Goyder's Line and specific definition of it as "A line showing the boundary between reasonably safe agricultural areas and those periodically affected by drought." Goyder used his own subjective evaluation of the vigor of vegetation during the drought to establish his demarcation, but it was later recognized that it was very nearly an "ecological isopleth" approximating the southern margin of the common saltbushes; see Griffith Taylor, *Australia* (London, 1949), 166-167 and J. G. Wood, "The Vegetation in South Australia," in Rupert J. Best, editor, *Introducing South Australia* (Adelaide, 1958), 84. It has also been stated that Goyder's Line is an actual "rainfall line," that is, that it coincides with an average annual isohyet. I am unable to see any such close correspondence, and skepticism is further suggested by the fact that different writers have related the line to different isohyets.

<sup>32</sup> "Petition for New Agricultural Areas," *Parliamentary Papers (South Australia)*, 1874, No. 34.

<sup>33</sup> In these same years the first professor of agriculture in the colony was preaching the necessity for deep ploughing against the insistence of at least some farmers that shallow tillage gave better yields. Subsequent research has confirmed that deep ploughing was highly detrimental to soil structure and moisture in this region.

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University of Wisconsin, College of Agriculture

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## Book Reviews

### *Farmer Movements in the South, 1865-1933.*

By Theodore Saloutos. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1960, xi, 354 pp., \$6.50.)

Obviously the fruit of long and industrious labor, this book is so filled with detail that much of the time the reader cannot see the woods for the trees. After an excellent first chapter, describing and interpreting the agricultural problems of the South at the end of the Civil War, the author treats the Granger movement, inflationary campaigns of the 1870's, farmers' organizations of the 1880's (in which he contrasts the conservative National Cotton Planters' Association, made up of growers, with the Brothers of Freedom and the Agricultural Wheel joined by the small farmers), the Farmers' Alliance, the Populist Party, free silver sentiment in the South, the Southern Cotton Growers' Association of the early 1900's (again a relatively conservative organization), the tobacco growers versus the "Tobacco Trust" during the administration of the first Roosevelt, the Wilson administration and the effect of the First World War on Southern agriculture, and Southern support of agricultural legislation in the post-war years up to the inauguration of the second Roosevelt.

Most of the topics are discussed State by State, *seriatim*, in each chapter. The details on the Grange in the South do indeed fill "a gap left by Solon J. Buck in his *Granger Movement*." The materials on inflationary movements in the 1870's and 1880's and on the Farmers' Alliance are perhaps the freshest. The writer shows convincingly that the Southern farmers who joined agrarian movements were politically to the right of their Midwestern associates, that in general they preferred to work within the Democratic party lest a third party should deliver their states to the Republicans and the Negroes. His efforts to show that the agrarian crusade was primarily a Southern rather than a Middle Western movement are not so convincing, at least for the early period.

The book does not pretend to be a study in politics but rather, the author says, is "socioeconomic in emphasis." There are, at several intervals in the narrative, discussions of the South's peculiar problems—farm ten-

ancy, Negro-white relations, and a one-crop economy; but this reviewer would have enjoyed more "socioeconomic" interpretation than there actually is in the volume.

The notes—30 pages of them—are, as seems to be inevitable these days, at the back of the book rather than at the bottoms of the pages, where they belong. The 14-page bibliography lists sources and secondary works without critical comment.

Among the manuscript sources used are the Minutes of the South Carolina Grange, 1873-80 and 1902-5, and of the Farmers' Alliance of South Carolina, 1880-90, both at Clemson College; and the "rural credits correspondence" of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1911-25, in the National Archives. Personal papers of farm leaders are those of Charles S. Barrett (a scrapbook) and Reuben D. Bowen (for the years 1915-18), both of the Farmers' Union; instead of: the Populist leader Marion Butler (for 1894-96); C. W. Macune of the Texas Farmers' Alliance (an account of the Alliance written in 1920); and J. W. Reid and Carl Williams. The last two names do not appear in the index, but by searching the text the reviewer found Williams mentioned as "a prominent spokesman for the cotton cooperatives."

The author has turned up printed reports and proceedings of Southern farmers' organizations, especially State organizations of the Grange, the Alliance, and the Farmers' Union, and he has consulted a formidable list of contemporary newspapers and periodicals. Seventeen theses, chiefly masters' theses from various institutions, are listed in the bibliography. The 1931 edition of John Hicks' *Populist Revolt* is listed, but not the recent edition, nor Hofstadter's *Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (1955).

The index, of five and one-half pages, is utterly inadequate. As has been noted, the secondary breakdown of the book is chiefly by State; but no State names are indexed, and many personal names appearing in the text are omitted from the index. The chief strength of the book is in its detail, but the short index makes it impossible to find many details without a weary rereading.

Solon J. Buck  
Washington, D. C.

*De Agrarische Geschiedenis van West-Europa (500-1850)*. By B. H. Slicher van Bath. (Utrecht, Het Spectrum, 1960, 415 pp.)

This book is a tentative synthetic presentation of Western European agrarian history. It is the product of great learning and assiduous work, toiling and grappling with the many unsolved issues of this rather novel section of economic history. Moreover it is crammed with interesting and important details. Yet the intention of the author is to discover some logical lines of secular development. In the first part (c. 500-1150) he deals mostly with the agrarian framework (*Agrarverfassung*), which develops from a closed to a market economy. In the second part (c. 1150-1850), dealing now with agrarian marketing units, he tries to fit the picture into a system of secular trends. This *Agrarkonjunktur* is, of course, derived from the urban, commercial trends, which are again mainly determined by fluctuations of precious metal mining and the consequent monetary supply.

The economic apparatus used consists mainly—though the author does not mention them explicitly—of the concepts of price elasticity and income elasticity of demand. These differ for corn on the one hand and stock-raising, dairy and industrial products on the other, thus causing opposing price trends (price scissors). This again occasions shifts from grass to arable land and vice versa, on which the author lays great stress. The concepts of inelasticity, however, must be modified considerably, if population is not a constant factor, as is the case during the long periods, on which the author concentrates. In the short run a boom will benefit stock-raising and dairy. However, if a secular boom is accompanied by population growth—as the author invariably assumes—the above tendency is over-compensated and apparently reversed. Boom eras then lead to shifts toward field crops. Vice versa a depression era is mostly linked by the author with stagnant, if not diminishing population. This is convincing for urban, but less so for the agricultural population. Depression eras under these assumptions show shifts from grain to dairy and stock-raising.

The structure of the book is characterized by a repeated succession of chronological and topical parts. This inevitably leads to repetitions and makes strenuous reading. The method has, however, the advantage of allowing the author to corroborate his epochs of *Agrarkonjunktur* empirically. As a rule, this object is faithfully pursued, but occasionally the author falls more or less to wandering over different countries and times.

The author writes a short, even crisp style, aiming at precision instead of at rhetoric effect. Precision is furthered by diagrams, geometric and schematic presentation. A historian by profession, he is well versed in archival research, yet he has commendably imbued economics and agronomy as tools of historic interpretation. It is interpretation and not simply piling up of material from card files, which he rightly demands of the historians, it being better to arrive at false conclusions than to shirk the real problems (p. 12). It is small wonder, then, that some points in the book provoke criticism. Yet it is a notably contribution to the progress of a young discipline.

Jacob van Klaveren

Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität  
Frankfurt am Main

*Die Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft in Preussen und Deutschland, 1800-1930*. By H. W. Graf Finckenstein. (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag, 1960, xx, 392 pp., DM 35.)

*Bauernwirtschaft und Gutsbetrieb in der vorindustriellen Zeit*. By Dr. Diedrich Saalfeld. (Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1960, vii, 167 pp., DM 28.)

Graf Finckenstein's work avoids the extremes usually encountered in scholarly histories of German agriculture—narrow monographs in exhaustive detail or generalized accounts that torture the facts. Using a dual approach, he examines various branches of agriculture separately and then looks at agriculture as one sector of the total economy. The result is a well-balanced treatment of local conditions and of general economic development. The introductory overview in Part I is followed by regional summaries classified according to grain, cattle, sheep, etc.

For example, he traces the rise of sheep production in Prussia, in which a small breed of sheep yielding the finest long-staple wool was favored, and the sharp decline after 1870 due to foreign competition, from which the sheep industry never recovered. Hog production on the other hand benefited from the import of cheap feeds and flourished. Statistical tables and graphs are skillfully used to support and illustrate the generalizations made, e.g., the importance of potatoes, turnips and sugar beets in sustaining the increasing numbers of people and livestock.

Part II portrays the impact of external events on German agriculture beginning early in the 19th century when knowledge of better farming techniques, land reform, and especially the growing opportunities for commercial agriculture changed age-old methods of land utilization and management. The transition was not accomplished without "growing pains" in the form of indebtedness and economic depression. Considerable space is given to agrarian reform in Prussia and to the expansion of large operations under the impetus of the industrialization and unprecedented increase in the population of Western Germany. Both the large estates and the peasant-holdings moved rapidly toward the modern type of agriculture. Meanwhile, improved transportation greatly fostered the marketing potentials; and the availability of commercial fertilizers and many new mechanical devices further accelerated the trends.

Graf Finckenstein has produced an eminently satisfactory work, thoroughly grounded in data, and with a sound interpretation. It fulfils a genuine need.

The study by Dr. Diedrich Saalfeld, Göttingen, is Vol. VI in the series entitled *Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte* edited by Professors Friedrich Lütge (Munich), Günther Franz (Stuttgart-Hohenheim) and Wilhelm Abel (Göttingen). This most recent volume, based on painstaking archival research, presents the history of agriculture in southern Lower Saxony (Süd-niedersachsen) in the late middle ages and early modern times—a significant formative period when traditional patterns were modified under the impetus of changing economic conditions. This is not merely a study of land tenure,

a subject adequately explored by other scholars. The author touches briefly on land tenure, e.g., the *Zeitpacht* (lease agreement) which developed into the *Meierrecht* (a kind of hereditary right for the peasant to use a certain piece of land), but main emphasis is given to agricultural production, including trends in the output of various commodities, and changing farming practices, managerial methods, and organizational structure, all of which are related to market price movements. Economic conditions, reflected in fluctuating price levels—for wages, supplies and transportation as well as for agricultural products—exercised a decisive influence on prevailing patterns, especially in motivating increased output through improved methods, already before the industrial era began.

Dr. Saalfeld managed to assemble considerable working data in support of his thesis and presents his findings in a cautious, systematic manner. Thus, one may accept the validity both of his methodology, which he explains in detail, and of his conclusions, which, although based on data for the province of Braunschweig, are certainly applicable over a wider area. The author has produced not only a sound, scholarly analytical work, but his investigations have broken new ground.

Fred W. Kohlmeyer  
University of Illinois

*James Monroe Smith: Georgia Planter Before Death and After.* By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1961, 294 pp., \$5.00)

Professor Coulter's biography of James Monroe Smith is a sympathetic but not uncritical account of Georgia's leading New South farmer. Born in Georgia in 1839, Smith attended old-field schools and received a law degree in 1861 from Tennessee's Hiwassee College. Weak eyes cut short his Civil War career, and he spent the war years trading and peddling. In 1866 he bought land in Oglethorpe County, which became the center of his empire, and soon purchased additional land in adjoining counties.

Smith's real business was farming and cotton was his primary crop. He maintained,

in addition, grain crops, orchards, vegetable gardens, and livestock. His farm won renown for its endless variety and efficient administration: Smith operated a dairy; had the largest cotton gin in Georgia; and maintained a cottonseed oil mill, fertilizer factory, gristmill, brickyard, and a variety of wood and blacksmith shops.

Employing wage hands, tenants, and state convicts, Smith's total labor force numbered more than one thousand people. His farm community developed into the small town of Smithonia, and in the 1880's Smith crisscrossed his property with a private system of railroads. A limited political career saw him serve three terms in the lower house of the state legislature and one in that body's senate. He made a disastrous race for governor in 1906. But he was first and last a farmer, and when Smith died in 1915, his estate was worth \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000. After this his kingdom crumbled, and the state was subjected to the prolonged spectacle of numerous claimants pressing their proof as legitimate heirs to the Smith fortune.

Professor Coulter has carefully sifted an impressive amount of material and given order to a complex story. He reveals Smith as a super farmer who developed an agricultural barony and dug a fortune from the red clay hills of Georgia. The author's style is clear, concise, and highly readable.

William W. Rogers  
Florida State University  
Tallahassee, Florida

*Minnesota Lands: Ownership, Use, and Management of Forest and Related Lands.* By Samuel Trask Dana, John H. Allison, and Russell N. Cunningham. (Washington, D. C.: The American Forestry Association, 1960, xxi, 463 pp., appendices, \$5.00.)

This study on land ownership in Minnesota was made under the supervision of a committee of the American Forestry Association. Although limited to Minnesota and slanted in terms of forest land, the study has a wider interest since it deals with natural resources and people and with the evolution of federal, state and county land policy as illustrated by

the Minnesota experience. The findings of the authors regarding patterns of land ownership, and their analysis of the problems inherent in the situation and their proposed solutions, are certainly not unique to Minnesota, and in many instances may well be applied to other areas.

Until the coming of national forests at the turn of the century, forest land policy, whether federal, state, local or private, reflected the general belief that as soon as the loggers had removed the timber, the land would become tillable and would be carved into family-sized farms. This belief led to heroic and expensive efforts to settle upon and improve marginal land, such as the drainage of the wetlands, and an accelerating scale of county taxes to pay for roads and schools. It also led lumbermen to cut-out-and-get-out to avoid the accelerating taxes and contributed instability and migration to the logging industry. No other practice was possible for the lumberman as long as wood was literally less than dirt cheap. But today with the supply and demand for wood in better balance stabilized operations on a sustained yield basis have become practicable.

Today, forest land is subject to multiple use and forest policy must take into account the interests and rival claims of forest reserves, timber cutting, recreation, game protection, wetland drainage, agriculture, social and economic income from the land, and taxation. A complicating factor is the intermingled nature of federal, state, county, and large and small private holdings. Federal and state holdings seem adequately managed in the public interest, but the size of their holdings can have adverse effects on local taxes, unless grants in lieu of taxes are made. Millions of acres of forest land have fallen to the counties through tax delinquencies. Attempts to get this land back into private hands have failed, and county management of forest land is in an experimental stage. Public policy, including taxation, toward large landholdings is in a formative state. It would seem the part of wisdom to encourage sufficient holdings tributary to a sawmill or papermill to ensure the permanency of the mill's operations and the life of the dependent community. The difficulty is to find some form of taxation, fair

to community and forest owner alike, that will encourage sustained-yield operations. A kindred difficulty is that small owners oppose large corporate holdings, lest a competitive market for timber diminish. But more important is the problem of persuading the small owner of timberland to practice good forest management.

To provide continuous identification and consideration of problems in land ownership and use, recommendations for their solution, and cooperation among those interested in land problems, the authors urge the creation of a Natural Resources Council, appointed by the governor of the state. The council would have no executive functions but would serve as advisor and coordinator—and incidentally as educator. Such a council could have an important effect on Minnesota's future development and could also serve as a model for other states. Although many of the suggested solutions proposed in this book are necessarily tentative, the thoughtful and comprehensive appraisals it contains deserve careful consideration by public official and scholar alike.

Rodney C. Loehr  
University of Minnesota

*Vertical Integration in the Broiler Industry on the Delmarva Peninsula and Its Effect on Small Business.* By George Soule and Martha V. Taber (Small Business Management Research Report, Washington, D. C.: Washington College for Small Business Administration, 1960, 92 pp.)

The type of agriculture described and analyzed in this significant study, directed by by Professor George Soule under auspices of the Small Business Administration Program, is a marked departure from the agrarian tradition of farming as a way of life. Here we see only commercialized food production, organized along big business lines, and utilizing factory techniques. The authors explain the transition to the new ways and outlook and present a penetrating economic analysis of the existing situation, with emphasis on the market position and the prospect for small business.

The broiler industry in the Delmarva Peninsula (embracing parts of Delaware, Mary-

land and Virginia) developed rapidly in the early 1930's when depression-struck farmers who had formerly raised a few chickens as a by-product of diversified farming, and also many persons who had suffered loss of earnings in other occupations, turned to broiler production as a source of income. By 1934 the tri-state area produced nearly a third of the nation's broilers, but the New England states soon followed suit and recently Georgia, North Carolina and Alabama have "soared to supremacy" in supplying this highly competitive market. A warmer climate is perhaps more favorable to poultry production, but the principal advantage cost-wise lies in volume production. Broilers are mass-produced by large firms, each performing a single function in highly routine, mechanized operations. The main divisions of the industry are laying flocks, hatcheries, feed mills, growers and processors. The tendency has been to eliminate feed and produce dealers. Meanwhile, a trend toward vertical integration of these separate enterprises is observable, with feed mills most commonly the nucleus of integrated organizations effected through contracts with growers and others. The possible disadvantage to the small independent operator is counterbalanced by the resulting efficiency and improved competitive position of the region as a whole. The power of the integrator is limited, the authors find, by the optimum size for an individual enterprise and the rigorous competition in a market largely dominated by chain grocery stores. There is little evidence, incidentally, of horizontal integration in the broiler industry.

Fred W. Kohlmeyer  
University of Illinois

*Cork and the Cork Tree.* International Series of Monographs on Pure and Applied Biology; Botany, Vol. 4. By Giles B. Cooke. (New York, Pergamon Press, xii, 121 pp., illus., map, \$7.50.)

The author, a consulting chemist, formerly director of research for Crown Cork and Seal Company, has written this book "to provide a single source for the important general information about cork." Dr. Cooke writes with infectious enthusiasm about his subject,



whether he is extolling the beauties of the cork tree as an ornamental, marveling at the unusual and useful properties of its bark, or recounting and describing the many uses to which cork has been put. His chief interest is in the physical and chemical properties of cork and the various manufacturing processes by which cork is made useful for industry and trade; but he also discusses the botany, commercial culture, and cork growth of the tree; and presents data on production and trade, potential cork areas in the United States, and directions for growing cork trees.

The book opens with a brief historical sketch of cork trees and the use of its bark from ancient Greek and Roman times to the beginnings of commercial management of cork oaks in the early nineteenth century. In a later chapter, a brief account of early plantings in the United States is devoted chiefly to Thomas Jefferson's futile efforts to introduce the cork tree into the Southern states. It is interesting to note that although Jefferson failed completely in his repeated efforts to import the cork oak, both by acorns and seedlings, over a period of 40 years starting in 1786, John Bartram had observed a cork oak growing near Charleston in 1765.

The "McManus Cork Project" (1939-1949) is discussed in detail. Designed to promote widespread growth of cork oaks for the development of a limited domestic supply of cork, it resulted only in the wider use of the tree as an ornamental.

For the person seeking introductory information on any aspect of the subject this is a useful and reliable little book. The footnotes provide some guidance to the literature on the subject.

*Helen H. Edwards*

*U. S. Department of Agriculture*

*6,000 Miles of Fence—Life on the XIT Ranch of Texas.* By Cordia Sloan and Joe B. Frantz. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961, xiv, 231 pp., \$4.50.)

Mrs. Cordia Sloan Duke, wife of a former XIT division manager, has added much fresh

material about the historic ranch in the Texas Panhandle. The book was written by Mrs. Duke and Joe B. Frantz of the History Department of the University of Texas.

In 1882 the Texas State Legislature gave the three million acre ranch to four Chicago business men as payment for building the huge granite State capitol building at Austin. To the state government the land was only so much dirt and grass. Money was hard to come by, but to pay for the capitol with land, which was plentiful and practically worthless, was a real windfall. The Capitol Syndicate, builder of the granite edifice, was composed of John V. Farwell, Charles B. Farwell, Amos Babcock and Abner Taylor.

XIT owners financed their cattle operations from English capital. The ranch maintained about 150,000 cattle plus large remudas used by the cowboys. One hundred and fifty cowboys worked the 3,000,000 acre spread. Cattle were trailed to northern railhead markets and 10,000 steers were finished yearly on Montana ranges south of the Missouri River. Finally 6,000 miles of single strand fence were strung—enough fence to run from coast to coast and return. Today the ranch has been subdivided into hundreds of smaller farms and ranches.

Ranch owners introduced Hereford, Shorthorn, and Angus to upgrade and replace the lanky Longhorn cattle which they originally purchased or bred.

Mrs. Duke kept a diary, and her ranch experiences, plus those written out by several old XIT cowboys, provide immense detail about early life on the famous ranch. There are several good black and white pictures of horses, cowboys, cattle, roundups, etc. which enhance the text.

This book is excellent Americana and should be owned by all those interested in agricultural and cattle history.

*B. W. Allred*

*Soil Conservationist*

*Farm & Ranch Planning Division*

*U. S. Department of Agriculture*

## Notes and Comments

### FOREST HISTORY ACTIVITIES

Members of Agricultural History Society will rejoice in the significant work being accomplished in the closely allied field of Forest History. Much of the credit goes to Elwood Maunder, director of the Forest History Society, Inc., 2706 W. 7th Boulevard, St. Paul 16, Minnesota. During the past decade he has struggled valiantly to make the forest products industry aware of the importance of its history, to prevent the destruction of valuable historical records, and to encourage scholarly research and writing. These efforts are beginning to bear fruit.

Last spring, Vol. 5, No. 1 of *Forest History* appeared in a new format and featured an article by Roy D. White, historian at the University of Maryland, on "Austin Cary, the Father of Southern Forestry," based on a paper read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Detroit. The summer issue features another paper read at Detroit, on "Pinchot's Contributions to American Forestry," by M. Nelson McGeary, professor of political science at Pennsylvania State University. In addition to scholarly articles this budding journal presents a book review section, biographical sketches, selected interviews, and information concerning the work being done in forest history.

On June 9, the third in a series of regional conferences or seminars on Forest History, attended by academicians, professional writers, and leaders in forestry and the forest products industry was held in St. Paul. Main speaker for the occasion was the Rt. Rev. Monsignor James P. Shannon, an economic historian, who is now president of the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul. Copies of Father Shannon's stirring remarks may be obtained upon request to Forest History Society.

On July 25 the Society published the long-awaited biography of William B. Greeley, by George T. Morgan, Jr., of the University of Oregon. No man is more revered in forest industry circles than Mr. Greeley, who succeeded in bridging the gap between the conservation idealists and practical lumbermen,

and in devising an effective forest land policy, notably the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924. Copies of the book (bound in hard covers with index and bibliography) are available from Forest History Society at \$2.75 each.

We may congratulate Forest History Society on their achievement to date, and hope that their endeavors enjoy a long and successful future.

### CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF WESTERN AMERICA

A program on livestock raising and agriculture has been arranged for The Conference on the History of Western America, to be held at Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 12-14. Gilbert C. Fite and John T. Schlebecker will present papers, with comment by Homer Socolofsky, at a session on livestock raising and agriculture.

### NEW MEMBERS

Edward C. Jones has joined the Society as a contributing member. Other recent new members include: Roy Battles, J. C. Dykes, Robert Everett, Timothy Hallinan, Stanley K. Odell, Henry E. Rodegerdts, Gordon Roth, Otey M. Scruggs, and John R. Williams.

### Activities of Members

George H. Aull, Clemson College, has been reappointed by the Board of Governors to a second three-year term as a Director, Charlotte Branch, Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond.

Robert Dykstra has published his article on "Ellsworth, 1869-1875: The Rise and Fall of a Kansas Cowtown" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Summer 1961.

John Hebron Moore has published an article on "William N. Mason, Southern Industrialist," in the *Journal of Southern History*, May 1961.

Raymond J. Penn has published an article on "Public Interest in Private Property (Land)" in the May issue of *Land Economics*.

Louis Bernard Schmidt, now of Tucson, Arizona, discusses "The Meaning of History," in *Arizonians*, Spring 1961.

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may be had by making application to the Secretary and by payment of the annual dues provided by the Constitution. All members will receive the Review issued quarterly. Dues: Library membership, \$5 annually; Sustaining membership, \$5 annually; Life membership, \$100.



*Address: WILLIAM D. AESCHBACHER, Secretary*

**MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**  
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The publication of the Association consist of the *American Economic Review*, a quarterly, the *Proceedings* of the annual meetings, a handbook or directory, and occasional monographs on special subjects. Yearly subscription to all publications is \$6.00.

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Send for information booklet and address inquiries concerning membership and subscription to:

JAMES WASHINGTON BELL, *Secretary-Treasurer*,  
American Economic Association,  
Northwestern University  
Evanston, Illinois

## Back Numbers

The Society is always anxious to obtain back numbers of *Agricultural History*. Your gift of back numbers will enable us to print more pages in the future. If you have volumes issued before 1941 for sale, the Society will be glad to act as your agent.

The Society has a supply of most back numbers available for sale. Write for prices.

WAYNE D. RASMUSSEN, Secretary-Treasurer  
Agricultural History Society  
Economic Research Service (ESAD)  
U. S. Department of Agriculture  
Washington 25, D. C.

## The Everett Eugene Edwards Awards in Agricultural History

The Agricultural History Society, in partial recognition of the outstanding services of Everett E. Edwards to the organization and in honor of his memory, has established the Everett Eugene Edwards Memorial Awards to be given to the authors of the two best articles (presidential addresses excluded) in *Agricultural History* each year. One prize of \$50.00 is offered for the best manuscript submitted by an author who is in the course of taking a degree and one prize of \$50.00 for the best published article by an author who is a more advanced scholar.

The Awards are financed from the Edwards Memorial Fund to which all members of the Society and other interested persons are invited to subscribe. However, the amounts necessary to pay the Awards for a period of ten years have been guaranteed by three of Edwards' former co-workers.

All articles to be considered for publication and other communications regarding editorial matters should be addressed to FRED W. KOHLMAYER, Room 4, Commerce Annex, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Address inquiries regarding the MEMORIAL FUND, MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY, and business matters to WAYNE D. RASMUSSEN, Secretary-Treasurer, U. S. Agricultural Marketing Service, Washington 25, D. C.

